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Advances in psychology : implications for a curriculum in men's studies.

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ADVANCES IN PSYCHOLOGY: IMPLICATIONS FOR A CURRICULUM IN MEN'S STUDIES

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Abstract

ADVANCES IN PSYCHOLOGY:
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(May 1986)

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A new perspective on men's psychological development has emerged in the last twenty years, influenced by the insights of the men's and women's movements. The male role and the male socialization process are being reevaluated in the light of a newly emerging paradigm of masculinity. One response to these developments has been the emergence of men's studies courses in universities in the United States and Canada over the past ten years.

The proposed curriculum, based on a national survey of men's studies courses and an extensive literature search in psychology and the other social sciences, can be implemented as a full program in men's studies or as individual courses to be taught in

conjunction with majors in other disciplines. Although men's studies courses have been in existence for more than ten years, this is the first curriculum to integrate these new insights into a program of study.

Divided into twelve areas of concentration, the curriculum presents the basic concepts of men's studies, an examination of the psychological notion of masculinity and the implications of these concepts for the social sciences. It also includes curriculum outlines for selected topic areas and an extensive bibliography.

An understanding of men's psychological development has implications for teaching about men but also for the treatment of men with emotional problems. The dissertation places an emphasis on this aspect of male development as well.

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C H A P T E R I

Introduction

This dissertation grew out of my interest in men's psychological development and, particularly, the ways in which men's well being can be enhanced through therapy. In my clinical experience, I was finding that traditional psychoanalytic theory did not answer all the questions I was asking as I confronted the variety of problems men brought into treatment. The women's movement of the past twenty years had produced a feminist therapy that took into consideration the particular needs and situation of women in our society but there was no comparable consideration of men's psychological development and needs.

I began to search for writings on men that took into account the particular effects of maleness on men's psychological functioning and found that such research was scarce. There was abundant research on male development but it was generally conducted from a perspective that accepted certain stereotypical male traits as inherent rather than learned. My readings in the fields of sociology, anthropology and the other social sciences had led me to question whether such

assumptions were founded. I felt that the issue was of sufficient therapeutic importance to be pursued.

As I learned more about the male socialization process and its effects on men's physical and emotional health, the focus of my study broadened. I realized that an adequate study of men's psychology would have to be undertaken within the context of men's roles and status in our society in general. Men's studies was a new field that had undertaken precisely this task. Resources in the field were available but, unfortunately, they were limited and scattered. I decided, finally, that I would attempt to find and collate resources in men's studies as a first step toward systematizing an understanding of men and maleness that would serve as a point of departure for a renewed inquiry into men's psychological development.

The term "men's studies" has been given to certain courses developed in colleges and universities throughout the United States and Canada over the past ten years. Although taught in diverse disciplines, they all have a common element in that they deal with notions of maleness and masculinity as manifested in men's psychological development, in men's roles in

society, or in works of history and literature. The origins of men's studies can be traced to a number of sources: the neonate men's movement, women's studies, changes in society's notion of male roles and the initiative of individual men themselves who, in response to these social changes, began to make changes in their personal lives.

In this dissertation, I review the literature about men, report on a survey questionnaire of men's studies courses in the United States and propose a curriculum for a men's studies program that can be implemented in a variety of ways in a university setting.

The Men's Movement

One of the inspirations for men's studies was the men's movement which began to emerge in the early 1970's (Gross, Smith & Wallston, 1983; Pleck & Pleck, 1980). The movement was partly a response to the liberation movements of the 1960's (Snodgrass, 1975) but also arose to meet the needs of men who felt uncomfortable and constricted in the male roles set out for them by society. One of the movement's goals was

to break down stereotypical thinking about men and male roles so that the destructive effects of these roles on men and on society could be diminished. Men were seen as the bearers of power in society. This patriarchal system, as it was called, was being challenged with increasing frequency as the rights of women and other minorities came to be more generally acknowledged. The early men's movement set out to address these issues (Bradshaw, 1982; Cook, 1979; Gross, Smith & Wallston, 1983).

The decade of the 1970's was not the first to witness men seeking social change. Throughout the 19th century, for example, there were large numbers of men supporting both abolition and the women's movement and devoting time, energy and money to furthering these causes (Hersh, 1980; Mill, 1970; Mosmiller, 1980; Strauss, 1982; Wagner, 1983-84 & 1984). The decade of the 1970's was different, however, in that the movement could be accurately described as autonomous with its own goals and character. It was not a support movement to other groups, even though large numbers of men in the movement characterized themselves as pro-feminist and anti-sexist.

As the movement grew, it began to diversify and structure itself. Today, there are a number of men's organizations, representing a spectrum of views. The National Organization for Changing Men (NOCM), for example, is a pro-feminist, anti-sexist men's organization whose major interest is in combating various forms of male oppression in society (Brother, 1983). It is frequently considered to represent the left wing of the men's movement while The National Congress for Men, for example, a strong advocate of men's rights, (Brannon, 1981-82; Interrante, 1982 & 1983; Williamson, 1985; Wishard & Wishard, 1980) can be characterized as a more conservative part of the men's movement because it does not advocate for radical social changes in the status of women and other oppressed minorities.

The early period of the men's movement could well be characterized as a time of growing awareness as men began to realize the extent to which the prescriptions of the male role influenced both their own lives and that of society at large. In response to this growing self-awareness, consciousness raising groups began to appear around the country, local and regional newsletters were begun and men's resource centers

started (Gross et al., 1983; Pleck & Pleck, 1980: Pleck and Sawyer, 1974). The major characteristic of this first stage of the movement was a growing self-consciousness on the part of men about the realities of being male in modern society.

From this new self-consciousness gradually emerged a need for a new understanding of history (Davis, 1975-1976; Lewis, 1981a). Men wanted to know how our current notions of masculinity had evolved. The process of moving from growing self-consciousness, an intrapersonal process, to a search for historical meaning, an external process, has been noted by Carl Degler (1981) writing about women's history. "Just as the new self-consciousness among blacks in the 1960's required a history, so the new consciousness among women demanded nothing less" (p. 67). I would extend his remarks to include men and the men's movement. Emerging self-consciousness demanded a history and, in the latter half of the 1970's, writings began to appear which were historical in character (Dubbert, 1979; Filene, 1974; Katz, 1976; Pleck and Pleck, 1980). The genre of social history is still one of the most developed subject areas in men's studies. The search for a history was the second stage of the movement.

The men's movement has just begun to move into the third stage of self-study, the stage of conceptualization. Men's studies is the name given to the part of the movement concerned with this enterprise. Again, it is following a pattern found in the development of the women's movement for women's studies scholars are already engaged in the process of conceptualizing their field of study (Duelli-Klein, 1983; Harding & Hintikka, 1983; Langland & Gove, 1981; Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974; Spender, 1981; Stanley & Wise, 1983). The 1979 meeting of the National Women's Studies Association produced a series of papers, Theories of Women's Studies (Bowles & Duelli-Klein, 1983b), which dealt with such traditional academic questions as: Is women's studies an academic discipline? Is there a women's studies methodology (Mies, 1983)? In the field of men's studies, such questions have yet to be broached. As the field grows, they will need to be posed and debated by a community of scholars. One of my goals in this dissertation is to propose some outlines for such a discussion. The men's movement, then, has given men's studies inspiration and a context within which to grow.

Paradigm Change and Men's Studies

Both men's studies and the men's movement have grown out of contemporary social and cultural change. These changes have resulted from our changed perception of men's and women's roles in society and can best be understood as part of a larger paradigm change. The notion of paradigm change was developed by Thomas Kuhn (1962) in his work on the development of scientific thought. Kuhn found that scientific revolutions did not come about through a process of accumulation of knowledge but rather through a changed perception of reality. This changed perception was made possible by the acceptance of a new paradigm.

> I shall henceforth refer to [these achievements] as 'paradigms', a term that relates closely to 'normal science'. By choosing it, I mean to suggest that some accepted examples of actual scientific practice ... provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research. These are the traditions which the historian describes under such rubrics as 'Ptolemaic astronomy' (or 'Copernican'), 'Aristotelian dynamics'(or 'Newtonian')...and so on. The study of paradigms, including many that are far more specialized than those named illustratively above, is what mainly prepares the student for membership in the particular scientific community with which he will later practice. Because he there joins men who learned the bases of their field from the same concrete models, his subsequent practice will seldom evoke overt disagreement over fundamentals. Men whose research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the same rules and standards for

> scientific practice. That commitment and the apparent consensus it produces are prerequisites for normal science, i.e. for the genesis and continuation of a particular research tradition (Kuhn, 1962, pp. 10-11).

A paradigm changes when the research which is based on it begins to find anomalous results that are more and more difficult to assimilate. As these anomalous results accumulate, the paradigm is reformulated in an increasingly complicated fashion in an effort to incorporate them. A crisis is produced but the paradigm persists as practitioners continue to seek for ways to incorporate the new data. The influence of the paradigm is strong and Kuhn remarks that, at this stage, "Failure to achieve a solution discredits only the scientists and not the theory" (p. 80).

Not until a new paradigm appears, capable of resolving the many problems that have arisen, does the old paradigm cede. The new paradigm, however, does not emerge as the result of a cumulative process.

> The transition from a paradigm in crisis to a new one from which a new tradition of normal science can emerge is far from a cumulative process, one achieved by an articulation or extension of the old paradigm. Rather it is a reconstruction of the field from new fundamentals, a reconstruction that changes some of the fields most elementary theoretical generalizations as well as many of its

> paradigm methods and applications. [Some] who have noted this aspect of scientific advance have emphasized its similarity to a change in visual gestalt: the marks on paper that were first seen as a bird are now seen as an antelope (Kuhn, 1962, pp. 84-85).

Although Kuhn is discussing the process of change in scientific thought, his theory has application outside the field of science as well. Pleck (1982) has applied it to the changes taking place in our understanding of the male sex role and has identified both a predominant paradigm and a newly emerging one. The predominant paradigm he has called the male sex role identity (MSRI) paradigm and the newly emerging one the sex role strain (SRS) paradigm.

The MSRI paradigm grew out of the work of psychologists in the early part of the century who were developing intelligence tests. As their work progressed, they moved on to personality testing and, at this point, masculinity and femininity as personality traits began to take on importance in the psychological community. Terman and Miles (1936), who were the first to develop a scale for measuring masculine and feminine traits, expressed clearly the approach toward sex roles that was to dominate the field for the next several decades.

> The belief is all but universal that men and women as contrasting groups display characteristic sex differences in their behavior, and that these differences are so deep and pervasive as to lend distinctive character to the entire personality. That masculine and feminine types are a reality in all our highly developed cultures can hardly be questioned (Terman & Miles, 1936, pp. 1-2).

Sex roles as developed within this tradition are seen as grounded in individual psychology and necessary for emotional health.

> The distinctive feature of the MSRI paradigm is its view that sex roles develop from within, rather than being arbitrarily imposed from without: Because of an innate psychological need to develop sex role identity, the individual is preprogrammed to learn a traditional sex role as part of normal psychological development; thus culturally defined sex roles do not arbitrarily restrict individuals' potential - on the contrary, they are necessary external structures without which individuals could not develop normally. From this perspective, individuals must be fitted to traditional roles, and the problem of traditional sex roles is only that so many people fail to fit them, not the nature of the roles themselves (Pleck, 1982, p. 4).

The SRS paradigm, on the other hand views the development of sex roles as a response to social stereotypes and norms and it is this social dimension of sex roles that gives them their saliency rather than an internal psychological need. From this perspective, sex roles are seen as limiting and constricting because they do not allow individuals to evolve according to their personal differences.

Both the MSRI and the SRS paradigm acknowledge the importance of learning for the acquisition of appropriate sex roles and both assume that certain traits possessed by men may be inherent. The diffference between the two paradigms, as Pleck's analysis points out, is the rigidity of sex roles as understood by the MSRI paradigm and the flexibility of them in the SRS paradigm. The latter places much greater emphasis on the social construction of sex roles and the changes that will inevitably take place as social norms evolve. Pleck's discussion is important because he places the current controversy regarding the male role in a social context within which it can best be understood.

Statement of Problem

In this dissertation, I make the case that a gap exists in the academic curriculum because this curriculum, as currently constituted, does not take into account the importance of gender as an influence in human thought and behavior. Specifically, the curriculum does not take into account the effects of maleness on men's psychology. Women's studies

programs, which have existed for almost two decades, have been cognizant of this problem but their focus has been on women's psychology and the oppression of women (Farley, 1974; Stimpson, 1973 & 1977). At the same time, women studies scholars, conscious of male bias in the curriculum, have contended that the need for a men studies program does not exist because the whole of university studies is a "men's studies" program.

> Most of the knowledge produced in our society has been produced by men; they have usually generated the explanations and the schemata and have then checked with each other and vouched for the accuracy of their view of the world. They have created men's studies (the academic curriculum), for, by not acknowledging that they are presenting only the explanations of men, they have 'passed off' this knowledge as human knowledge (Spender, 1981, p. 1).

Despite these appearances, men are not really represented in the curriculum as Pleck and Brannon (1978) point out.

> As a feminist social scientific perspective on women emerged in the last decade, it was often said that such a perspective was needed because most social science research and theory is about men. This indictment has been an accurate one, in the sense that it is men's behavior that has received most attention and predominantly male subjects who have been studied. But, in another sense, it is equally true that, with only a few exceptions, social scientists have hardly begun to study systematically the impact on men of the powerful social expectations they face by virtue of being males: prevalent cultural beliefs about personality characteristics they should have and behaviors they should perform, together with both

> subtle and overt encouragement to conform to these beliefs (Pleck & Brannon, 1978, p. 1).

Joe Dubbert, in A Man's Place (1979), comments in a similar vein.

> Compared with what we know about the identity problems of women, we know relatively little about the American male's struggle with his identity. Perhaps Ralph Luce was right when he commented that popular assumptions about masculinity might be so much a part of our natural coloring that they simply don't need to be discussed (Dubbert, 1979, p. 1).

Arguments for the need for men's studies are being made by other writers as well (Kimmel, 1984; Townsend, 1976). Shepherd Bliss (1980), in an unpublished paper entitled "Why Graduate Programs in Psychology Should Offer Courses on Men" speaks of the social changes of the last several decades and their impact on men's roles and men's self-concept. Citing the recent development of men's studies courses in the fields of adult development and human sexuality, he argues that professional schools of psychology and social work should "offer today's students more systematic resources to deal with problems which clients are likely to bring them related to changing sex roles" (p. 3). Bliss' argument is largely pragmatic, directed at those who work in the helping professions. Implied in his demand is a sense that men's self-concept is

changing and a new understanding of men's psychology isignis needed.

Eugene August (1982), in an article entitled, "'Modern Men' or Men's Studies in the '80's", begins his apologia for men's studies with an argument ad hominem.

> Don't some men have problems too...Why, despite all the scholarly attention paid to males, were certain questions so seldom asked about them. The argument of some apologists for women's programs, that past academic studies have been mostly men's studies ignores the fact that most scholars have been highly selective about which men were studied and what they have studied about them....However valid women's studies are, they create an imbalance in the curriculum when there is no corresponding effort to extend and reevaluate our knowledge of men and men's lives (August, 1982, p. 583-584).

This argument, which is largely reactive, is followed by a second argument more germane to my underlying thesis and more general in its application.

> Scholars need to be acquainted with recent studies of the masculine gender role and of the underlying patterns of growth or decline in men's lives. Because masculinity is now described as an historical construct imposed upon a biological given, critics cannot knowledgeably discuss the concept of a male hero in a literary context without some understanding of the definition of masculinity in its culture. Such definitions vary from culture to culture, and they can vary within the same culture depending upon historical periods, locale, class and numerous other factors.... Above all, no informed person can afford to ignore the benefits and liabilities of

> our culture's deeply internalized concepts of masculinity, for they profoundly affect both individual and society (August, 1982, p. 584-585).

In making his argument for men's studies, August points out the importance of gender as a focus of study. Because sociological and biological assumptions regarding gender have begun to change, the concept of the male role posited on such assumptions also changed. Concepts of masculinity and femininity are being seen as social and cultural derivatives rather than innate characteristics of women and men.

Harry Brod expands on the relationship of men's and women's studies to gender studies in an unpublished paper, "The New Men's Studies: from feminist theory to gender scholarship" (1983). For Brod, the concept of gender studies provides a context for a men's studies program.

> The project of gender studies mandates a particular conception of men's studies. This conception is grounded in an increasingly sustained understanding and in an increasingly emerging conviction. The understanding is that in falsely generalizing man as "male" to man as "human" we have, to our great loss, obliterated the specificities of both women's and men's lives. The conviction is that the only way to depower the pseudo-universality of generic "man" is to study man as particular, rather than pseudo-generic....The move to gender studies is part of a process of self-definition which dates to the

> beginning of women's studies. It is part of the systemization which occurs whenever a derivative research program becomes an autonomous discipline (Brod, 1983, pp. 11-13).

Judith Shapiro in "Anthropology and the Study of Gender" (1981) makes the same argument.

> The real issue, in my opinion, is that the social sciences have yet to come to terms with gender as a social fact. They have suffered from a tendency to relegate sex to the domain of the infra-social, to view sex roles largely in terms of how biology constrains society. The message from current sex-role research is that gender must be viewed from the perspective of economics, religion, philosophy, art - in brief, that gender is a total social fact that takes on its meaning and function from the wide cultural system of which it is a part (p. 112).

The importance of gender in our understanding of social roles and social identities has become an essential aspect of study by scholars investigating the role of women in society (Boulding, 1976; Brake, 1976; Davidson & Gordon, 1979; Harding & Hintikka, 1983; Keller, 1983; Kelly-Gadol, 1976; Langland & Gove, 1981; Spender, 1981; Strober, 1976b). To fully understand the role of men and relationships between men and women in society, I think we must use a similar perspective.

Statement of Purpose

In this dissertation, I will present and analyze

data on the teaching of men's studies, define the field, provide a rationale for the inclusion of men's studies in the academic curriculum and develop a curriculum for a program of study. For the present, I will use the term program of study rather than academic disciplineto describe men's studies. In a later section of this dissertation, I will consider whether men's studies can be called an academic discipline (Bowles, 1983; Coyner, 1983).

Individual courses about aspects of men's lives have appeared in a number of colleges and universities over the past ten years. Although such courses have been taught under the general rubric, "men's studies", no one has yet attempted to provide a comprehensive rationale for them nor to integrate the diversity of offerings into a unified program of study with its own curriculum. This lack of a common understanding of the meaning and purpose of men's studies makes it difficult for its practitioners to have their offerings accepted and militates against the field's ability to grow. For this reason, I thought it urgent that a systematic study of the field be undertaken and the educational implications clearly articulated.

Given the different senses in which the term "men's studies" is used, it might be useful, at this point, to define its use in this dissertation. By "men's studies", I mean the study of men as males, as "specific" members of humankind rather than as "generic" representatives of humankind, which is often the implicit or explicit use of the term "man". Men are not representative of the human species as a whole but, because they have generally been accepted as such, little study has been given to the specific characteristics of their maleness. A men's studies program, then, would look at men as male in order to understand how maleness has affected their psychological development and their impact on social norms and structures. As Dubbert (1979) notes, we know little specifically about men and the effect of the male role.

Design of the Study

To accomplish my goals in this study, I drew upon two sets of resources, a literature review and a national survey of men's studies courses. There was an extensive literature on men's attitudes and behavior from which could be drawn both an understanding of our

current notion of masculinity and directions for future research. The national survey provided a picture of men's studies as currently understood by those in the field. Using these two resources, I developed goals, objectives and a curriculum for a complete program of men's studies.

Significance and Limitations of the Study

The significance of this dissertation arose from the fact that we are currently witnessing major changes in society's concept of men's and women's roles (Conventions of Gender, 1984). As these changes occur, they often create confusion and conflict for individuals and society; consequently, it is important for us to understand their roots as well as their implications for the future. Traditionally, new academic disciplines have developed as changes occurred in the social and physical sciences (Bowles, 1983) or in the social order. The men's movement, today, is a social change with wide ranging implications for the structure of our society. A men's studies program would be part of the attempt to understand contemporary social change and to deal with it in constructive ways. If the traits of masculinity are indeed social

constructs as some would contend, then men's roles in society as well as men's self-concepts can change. It is important that we understand the implications of such change to be able to use them for the betterment of all humankind.

Although the study of men can be very broad, this dissertation was, of necessity, limited in scope. Specifically, its goal was to define the field of men's studies, propose a rationale for its inclusion in the academic curriculum and develop a curriculum for a program of study. In so doing, it adverted to the many psychological, social and historical issues that arise and, in constructing a curriculum, incorporated the perspectives of many disciplines. The dissertation, however, was not a study of men, per se, their behavior, self-concept or psychological development. It was limited to putting order into the work being done about men and developing a rationale and curriculum for a program of study that would serve as a basis for further research on men's psychological development and social roles.

Outline of Chapters

The dissertation is divided into six chapters. The introductory chapter has presented the reasons which led me to undertake the study, defined its parameters and significance and explained the design.

The second chapter is a review of the literature. There is a vast literature that deals with men, their psychological development and their roles in society and the family (Biller, 1967; Grady, Brannon & Pleck, 1979; Men's Studies Bibliography, 1979). I used this review to survey contemporary writing about men and to indicate those areas of study that should be included in a program of studies.

In the third chapter, I analyze the data collected by my national survey of men's studies courses taught in the United States and Canada.

The fourth chapter outlines the goals and objectives of the curriculum. Since the curriculum is intended to broaden and deepen student's understanding of men's psychology and male roles in society, the goals of the curriculum are defined in both cognitive and behavioral terms.

In the fifth chapter, I present a curriculum for an integrated program in men's studies. It coordinate the contributions of the various disciplines to the field and integrates areas of concern mentioned by those currently teaching. The chapter contains descriptions of areas of concentration, objectives for teaching men's studies courses and descriptions of available resources in the field.

The sixth and final chapter of the dissertation contains my conclusions regarding the need for a men's studies program and the implications of introducing men's studies into the academic curriculum. In that chapter, I also reflect on the relationship of men's studies to gender studies and the role of gender studies in the university.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

In this chapter, I review those books and articles that will serve as the resource material available at this time for developing a curriculum in men's studies and I will indicate the major themes concerning men that appear in this literature. I have divided the review according to traditional academic disciplines with the exception of the section on multi-cultural studies and popular writings because this division seemed best suited to an overview of the field. In the curriculum chapter, I will divide the curriculum according to areas of concentration that go beyond such divisions.

The term "literature about men" needs to be defined since men have been the subject of literature for many hundreds of years. In the early 1970's, however, writings began to appear which questioned the traditional paradigm that governed our understanding of men's behavior and roles in society. One of the very first of these writings was the Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto (Pleck & Sawyer, 1974) written in 1973. It expressed the feelings and experiences of a large

number of men and the themes it enunciated were to be expanded upon in books and articles over the next ten years. This literature review traces the emergence of these new ideas and relate them to the traditional understandings of men's psychology and behavior.

A major theme appearing throughout this chapter is the influence of gender and gender roles on men's attitudes and behavior. In certain respects, men's studies has grown out of a new social science awareness of gender as a variable in human behavior (Davidson & Gordon, 1979; Duberman, 1975; Kessler & McKenna,1978). Whereas "mankind", for example, was once an accepted term to denote all members of the human species, it is now understood as connotative of only part of humankind. To be a male member of humankind is seen as a specific way of being human, not a normative one. This new awareness entails understanding gender as a social construct rather than a biological given. For this reason, the theme of gender will weave through the whole of this literature review.

The literature review begins with a survey of the historical literature treating of men. This section is intended to provide a context within which to analyse

the literature that has been written in other disciplines. The next section, one of the most extensive sections of the chapter, reviews the psychological literature about men. Following this are sections on sociology, anthropology and literature. These sections represent the major academic work done on men's studies. The sections that follow on multi-cultural studies, popular writings and sexuality and health are less developed but important aspects of the emerging field of men's studies.

History

History, and particularly social history, was one of the first disciplines to investigate the evolution of the male role and the meaning of masculinity (Brenton, 1966; Ferguson, 1966; Filene, 1974). This investigation was based on the premise that masculinity is a social construct with a social history (Degler, 1981; Dubbert, 1979; Rotundo, 1983; Stearns, 1979). Interestingly, some of the early writings in this genre were not inspired by the men's movement but, in fact, predated it (Brenton, 1966; Ferguson, 1966).

> The emotions of our society have grown almost wholly out of a set of circumstances formed by the male of the species, often acting without any

> apparent acknowledgement that there are qualities and virtues that do not repose in the male frame. The result is a kind of cult of masculinity that has influenced thinking subtly and widely and increasingly during the past thousand years (Ferguson, 1966, p. lx).

In surveying the literature in this field, two major themes emerge. The first is the evolution of the notion of masculinity, the varied ways in which men have understood and manifested their maleness throughout history (Filene, 1974; Fraser, 1982; Genovese, 1980; Kriegel, 1978; Pugh, 1983). Underlying this historical development, however, is a second theme which attempts to delineate those essential traits of masculinity that seem to perdure through historic periods (Fraser, 1982; Rotundo, 1983). Writers in social history are thus attempting to answer two related questions. The first is an historical question about the evolution of maleness and the second is a philosophical question about the values attributed to the varied manifestations of the "male" character.

> In most books about masculinity and in many recent articles on the male role in a changing society, there is constant reference to the masculine stereotype in America and the image of manliness it has projected. But what is this peculiar stereotype and <u>image?</u> What do we really know about it from the historical point of view? Few of these studies go very far toward explaining the formation of the male image in American history. None have sufficiently studied the essential ingredients of manly character and

> related them to the broader social context. How has the ideal masculine image influenced the way American men regarded women and children? How has the concept of manliness survived in times of war and depression? And why have so many men become so defensive and confused about their masculine image? The time has come for historians to seriously study these questions (Dubbert, 1979, p. 1).

In looking at the evolution of the notion of masculinity, some writers have chosen a broad scope of history for study (Brenton, 1966; Ferguson, 1966; Fraser, 1982; Kirshner, 1977; Kriegel, 1978), but most American social historians have restricted their study to American history, particularly that of the 19th and 20th century. Within this framework, they have generally studied white, middle class men. Pleck and Pleck (1980) and Katz (1976) are exceptions to this rule in that their anthologies begin with colonial history in America and include essays which treat of Black men and gay men.

Because so few people, to date, have studied the colonial period of American history from the perspective of gender, the picture of masculinity in that time is less clear and detailed and this literature review concentrates, of necessity, on the late 19th and early 20th century. Many studies of this

latter period begin with the Civil War which is seen as an historical watershed, demarcating a major shift in the American life style. After the war, industrialization, which had begun in the early 19th century, became a major focus of social change and men began to struggle with finding their identity through the world of business rather than on the frontier which had closed by the end of the Civil War (Dubbert, 1979; Stearns, 1979).

Period from Civil War to First World War

In the pre-Civil War period, the ideal of manhood and the norms of manly behavior were clearly defined for white, middle class men. Courage, defined as patriotic virtue, was prominent as were notions of social usefulness and steadfastness (Rotundo, 1983). Less developed themes that appeared in the literature about that period were the importance of the frontiersman as hero (Dubbert, 1979; Kriegel, 1978; Smith, 1980, Townsend, in press), the role and status of Black men (Fox-Genovese, 1984; Genovese, 1980; Horton, 1984), the role of men in the early women's movement (Mosmiller, 1980; Strauss, 1980; Wagner, 1983-84 & 1984) and the plight of gay men (Katz, 1976).

The period between the Civil War and the First World War, in comparison, is generally seen as a period of conflict for men because society was undergoing so many changes. Women were again demanding equality and a change in their status (Filene, 1974) as well as advocating social changes such as temperance which had a very direct effect on men's daily lives. At the same time, demands were being made that men should be virile, daring and aggressive in the world while continuing to uphold Christian principles of discipline and purity in their personal lives (Dubbert, 1979; Haley, 1978; Rothman, 1984). These conflicting demands caused confusion for many men. Dubbert describes the conflict as bringing "spiritual values into contention with the masculinity-validating process of social Darwinism, and cooperation into contention with historic American individualism" (1979, p. 156). Theodore Rooseveldt is often portrayed as the exemplar of this struggle for no one more fully personified it in public life or more vehemently urged the ideal of manhood on young Americans (Dubbert, 1979; McGovern, 1966). The emergence of popular sports in the early 20th century (Sabo & Runfola, 1980) and the birth of the Boy Scouts and the YMCA were all attempts to deal

with this conflict by emphasizing manly virtues in a context of discipline and order (Filene, 1974; Hantover, 1980; MacLeod, 1983).

In examining these decades, writers point out that at least two, if not three conflicting ideals of manhood emerged during the latter part of the 19th century (Filene, 1974; Gordon, 1980; Rosenberg, 1980; Rothman, 1984; Rotundo, 1983 & 1984). The ideal of the Christian gentleman depicted the man who was noble and self-sacrificing, restrained in his desires and altruistic in his actions. This ideal arose from the religious ferment of the earlier decades of the century and it was, in part, a response to the women's movement demand that men be more pure and noble.

The ideal of the masculine achiever, on the other hand, was the outgrowth of the commercial capitalism which had begun to spread during the period after the Revolution. It was important for the country's growth that men be aggressive and energetic in promoting their own advancement as well as that of their country. It was an ideal that believed in hard work and self-advancement. It also demanded emotional detachment if one was to accomplish these aims. This ideal, which

had its roots in colonial white America, received a renewed stimulus after the Civil War when commercial enterprise and patriotic virtue once again became linked (Rotundo, 1984; Stearns, 1979).

Rotundo (1984) suggests that a third ideal existed, that of the masculine primitive. It was an ideal that developed later in the century and was posited on the notion that manliness has its roots in humankind's primitive nature and that, in some way, men continue to have "savage" instincts. It was an ideal that saw the world as a battlefield and men as needing to be strong to survive the fray. It differed from the masculine achiever in its emphasis on the physical. This ideal is sometimes seen as related to the ideas of Darwin which were prominent in the latter part of the 19th century.

The period between the Civil War and the First World War, then, is considered by social historians as a period of critical conflict in the development of the ideals of masculinity. It was a time when major social change caused a reevaluation of these ideas and the ways in which they could be realized.

First World War and Aftermath

The First World War was, in some respects, the climax of this conflict for it gave young men, once again, the opportunity for heroic endeavors in a noble cause.

> "You are going into a big thing: a big war: a big army: standing for a big idea," wrote "Dad" to "Tom" in a letter published as an editorial by the Ladies Home Journal. "But don't forget that the biggest thing about a principle or a battle or an army is a man! And the biggest thing that a war can do is to bring out that man. That's really what you and the other chaps have gone over for: to demonstrate the right kind of manhood, for it is that which weighs in a fight and wins it" (Filene, 1974, p 107).

In retrospect, however, the war proved to be a transitional period because the experience of the war also engendered cynicism about such "heroic" endeavors. The period immediately following the war was a time of soul searching for men as they attempted to integrate their conflicted experience (Filene, 1974). Before this integration could take place, however, the Great Depression and World War II intervened, bringing with them major disruptions in the lives of most men. For twenty years, as men struggled to preserve their self-esteem and self-identity, reflections on the meaning of masculinity were left in abeyance

Post World War II Period

The years following World War II brought a new set of obstacles for men seeking to fulfill the masculine ideal. As Peter Filene (1974) points out, the clear guidelines that existed for young Victorian men no longer existed and the social supports which once made it possible for men to achieve that ideal were no longer readily available. Several social changes contributed to this dilemma. The Second World War, which ideally should have provided a battleground for men to play out their dreams of heroism and validate their masculinity, became, in fact, an exercise in conformity. The modern method of waging war demanded team spirit, not individualism, and conformity, not creativity.

> Generally, the studies showed that many recruits were repeatedly forced to alter their values and social patterns to conform to army regulations. Those who did submit were "well-adjusted". To many other servicemen, the demands of the military life depreciated the ideal of freedom and individualism. They became G.I.'s - general issue - complete with "dog tags" (Dubbert, 1979, p.237).

The spirit of conformity continued to be demanded at war's end as American men returned to college and the workplace. The days of rugged individualism had

ended and the successful businessman was the one who could climb the company ladder without shaking it (Brenton, 1966; Filene, 1974; Riesman, 1950; Stearns, 1979; Whyte, 1956). This spirit of conformity was in sharp contrast to the ideals of individual endeavor which most men still espoused and created conflict for many men who felt themselves trapped and unmasculine as they strove to realize their old ideals of masculinity in new and unaccommodating settings.

To counteract this pressure, men sought ways in which they could continue to validate traditional male values. One arena in which the old ideals could still be played out was sports and, during the 1950's, sports once again became and have remained a highly popular national pasttime (Fasteau, 1974; Messner, 1983-84 & 1984; Naison, 1972; Sabo, 1980; Stearns, 1979). Sexuality was the other arena in which men played out the masculine ideal for sexual attitudes were largely unchanged after the War and men felt they were still able to be "masculine" in their sexual roles. The advent of Playboy Magazine in 1953 added a new dimension to this traditional male role for, while the Playboy philosophy adhered to the traditional male values of individualism and detachment, it proclaimed

they could be achieved in a new context. The luxury apartment replaced the frontier and material possessions became the hallmark of successful masculinity (Dubbert, 1979; Ehrenreich, 1983).

Several other factors entered into the evolving notion of masculinity. The liberation movements of the 1960's had a major impact on men as well as on women and Blacks (Freeman, 1983; Snodgrass, 1975). Changing models of family life and marriage strongly influenced men's concepts of themselves as fathers and providers (Green, 1976; Rapoport, 1977; Sayers, 1983; Scanzoni, 1975). The Viet-Nam War played a critical role in the reevaluation of the masculine ideal (Farrell, 1974; Fasteau, 1974).

Victorian ideals of masculinity are no longer current. No new ideal, however, has yet fully emerged from the turmoil of the past two decades to replace them. Social historians, in examining the contemporary scene, are able to discern familiar themes from the past as well as new themes now emerging (Ehrenreich, 1983; Filene, 1984; Gerzon, 1982 & 1983; Kirshner, 1977) Their studies provide an historical framework within which the notions of masculinity found in other

disciplines can be investigated and understood.

Psychology

In the field of psychology, there are four principle areas of interest which pertain to men's studies: developmental psychology, rooted in psychoanalytic approaches to human development but undergoing a transition because of feminist questioning of traditional theories; adult development and, particularly, male adult development, a relatively new field which has received increasing attention during the past twenty years; sex roles which are being studied by psychologists and representatives of other disciplines as well; counseling and therapy which apply psychological theory to therapeutic practice.

Developmental Psychology

Within the context of traditional developmental psychology as it pertains to sex role development, three main approaches have emerged over the past several decades (Doyle, 1983; Goodstein & Sargent, 1977): psychoanalytic theory (Freud, 1933 & 1962; Wong, 1982), social learning theory (Bandura and Walters,

1963; Mischel, 1970), and cognitive theory (Kohlberg, 1966). All three approaches have attempted to explain how children develop their particular sexual identities as masculine or feminine (Block, 1976; Constantinople, 1976; Denmark, 1975; Doyle, 1983; Goodstein and Sargent, 1977; Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980; Maccoby, 1966) and all three lines of thought have posited a distinction between male and female psychology with the consequent division of sex roles that follows on this distinction.

While writers in these traditions may have differed in their theoretical framework and their explanation of the process of developing a sexual identity, none would have questioned the need for such an identity nor the traits normally attributed to men and women as part of their respective sexual identities. Biller, for example, in an article entitled "Masculine Development: an integrative review" (1967) states his goal as presenting "an integrated statement about psychological factors in masculine development and...avenues for further conceptual and empirical clarification" (p. 253). Although his article is extensively annotated, at no point in his review does he question the adequacy of the paradigm

itself and the characteristics it attributes to men. In this respect, he is in keeping with other writers on male psychological development (Rochlin, 1980; Ruitenbeek, 1966; Stoller, 1968).

During the last decade, however, some writers have begun to question the traditional attribution of male and female traits and the psychological theories which supported it. For the most part, these writers have represented a feminist perspective and their focus has been on the psychological development and role of women (Bardwick, 1971; Chodorow, 1974; Dinnerstein, 1976; Firestone, 1970; Horney, 1967; Mitchell, 1971 & 1974; Walker, 1981). A few writers have turned their attention to male developmental psychology and the adequacy of traditional theory as applied to men (Menaker, 1975; Pleck, 1982; Taubman, 1986).

Kay Tooley (1977) contends "that male theorists and practitioners have made virtues of the harsh facts of male socialization" (p. 185). In her article, she suggests that male traits be reviewed as products of socialization rather than as products of an intrapsychic process only. She holds that psychoanalytic theory has reinforced the male

stereotype by giving it a theoretical underpinning and she calls into question the "objective nature" of psychoanalytic theory. Tooley calls for a reformulation of the theory of male development that is more comprehensive and integrative in its approach because it will take into consideration the socialization patterns of male children. She suggests, for example, that if boys were raised in a more nurturing environment, they would mature with a less adversarial and material approach to the world and others, an approach which she sees as self-perpetuating of the traditional male role and its inherent conflicts. Tooley's article points out the basic conflict which has arisen between a psychoanalytic and a social psychology perspective on male development. It is this conflict which is at the heart of much of the dialogue on the subject.

Tooley's remarks on the importance of the socialization process for male psychological development are echoed by Prescott (1975) who suggests that the "principle cause of human violence is a lack of bodily pleasure during the formative periods of life" (p. 64). Again, he is contending that contemporary "maleness" is not an innate characteristic

but a result of social and cultural influences in the male developmental process.

Jon Snodgrass undertakes a critique of psychoanalytic theory from a somewhat different perspective. He understands the relationship between psychoanalysis and sociology as complementary because both view the same reality, albeit from different points of view. To illustrate his thesis, he analyses patriarchy and the oedipus complex as being the manifest and latent content of a single reality - our society's conceptualization of the role of father. His article points out a way to overcome the dichotomy in our society between psychoanalysis and sociology and, in so doing, to redefine our dichotomous conceptualization of the sexes. Such a reconceptualization, he feels, would enable us to redefine our notions of male identity.

As the work of the above cited authors indicates, the field of developmental psychology is undergoing a period of self-examination and revision, prompted by changing social expectations and demands on both men and women. Beverly Walker (1981), in exploring the male bias in psychoanalytic theory and the impact of

this bias on a psychology of women, points out that reform of psychoanalytic theory will need to be a reform of process as well as of content.

> In this paper I have considered the criticism that feminists have made of psychology and the effects that this critique has had. The changes have, however, been limited in comparison to the challenge proposed. This has occurred because feminists have continued, in the main, to work within the inherently conservative framework of methodology and theory of their disciplines, without substantial revision of its structure....Psychologists cannot develop a non-sexist psychology without a broader revision of their methodology and practice. We continue to act as if our discipline is value free. We develop tests which serve to maintain the status quo by reinforcing stereotypes. Thus our endeavors to reorient psychology are limited by the impoverishment of the discipline as traditionally practiced (p. 121).

Although Walker is writing from the perspective of a feminist whose major concern is women, their status and role, her remarks have implications for men's studies as well since a more accurate understanding of men's psychology will also result from a "broader revision of methodology and practice" of the discipline of psychology.

Male Adult Development

During the past two decades, increased interest in adult development (Block, 1984; Gould, 1972 & 1978;

Lehman, 1952; Neugarten, 1968, 1975 & 1979; Sze, 1975) has grown out of the field of developmental psychology. Although Freud introduced the notion of psychological development, his major work dealt with the stages of psychosexual development in children and adolescents (1933 and 1962). Jung's writings (1954) about mid-life transition added a dimension to Freud's thinking but it was Erik Erikson (1950 & 1978) who first outlined a theory of adult psychological development that incorporated the whole of a person's life.

The existence of adult developmental cycles has now been established (Brim, 1979; Colarusso & Nemiroff, 1981) although there is still considerable disagreement on the chronology of the adult life cycle or whether there are, indeed, stages through which everyone passes. In addition, there is disagreement about the roots of change in adult life and the relative influence of intrapsychic factors as opposed to social factors in bringing change about. In part, study of the adult life cycle produces differing results because the researchers, themselves, come from diverse perspectives. Psychoanalytically oriented psychologists and psychiatrists (Gould, 1978; Vaillant, 1977) are concerned with intrapsychic factors in

development while sociologically oriented researchers (Block, 1984; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981; Hogan, 1981; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson & Braxton, 1978b; Osherson, 1980) place more emphasis on the influence of social and cultural factors in the adult life cycle.

Social Psychologists and Adult Male Development

One of the major works on the male adult life cycle has been done by Levinson and his associates (1977, 1978, & 1978b) at Yale University. They did an intensive study of the lives of forty men ranging in age from their mid-thirties to their mid-forties. From their data, they formulated a schema of stages that incorporated the whole of a man's adult life. Levinson conceived of these stages as a series of "eras" linked together by transitional periods. To each era, he assigned particular developmental tasks and to each transitional period certain conflicts. He purposely titled the book in which the group's findings were published The Seasons of a Man's Life to avoid giving the schema a rigid and definitive meaning.

> To speak of seasons is to say that the life course has a certain shape, that it evolves through a series of definable forms. A season is a relatively stable segment of the total cycle. Summer has a character different from that of

> winter; twilight is different from sunrise. To say that a season is relatively stable, however, does not mean that it is stationary and static. Change goes on within each, and a transition is required for the shift from one season to the next (1978b, p. 7).

Although Levinson developed a schema for the whole of the adult life cycle, a major portion of his research revolved about the mid-life transition, which for some men in his study represented a conflicted period of development and for all men represented a reevaluation of their lives. Levinson's work is the most comprehensive study that has been done to date and attempts to incorporate a psychological and sociological approach.

Farrell and Rosenberg (1981) chose to study male mid-life transition with a particular emphasis on sociological factors which enter into men's lives. They call into question Levinson's conclusion that the majority of men experience a mid-life transition in a conscious way. Their research showed that most men repressed or denied the stress of mid-life change or attributed it to external sources, thus negating the reality of the intrapsychic changes that might be taking place. As a result of their studies, they developed a schema of character types into which they

would categorize men in mid-life. The schema incorporated two sets of polarities, integration vs. disintegration and authoritarian denial vs. egalitarian openness. The authors discovered that the interaction of these polarities in the men studied was closely related to the social class and area of residence of the men rather than to their personality structure. Working class men tended to deny or repress their conflicts more so than did white collar or professional men. These findings reinforced for them the importance of sociological as opposed to psychological factors in men's lives.

Farrell and Rosenberg's conclusions are of particular interest to men's studies because they found that not only do most men not negotiate the straits of mid-life well (Cohen, 1979) but that the social process of growing up male militates against healthy psychological development (McGill, 1980; Rosenberg & Farrell, 1981).

> As we survey the life histories of men in our culture and the psychological impact of their movement from adolescence to mid-life, we are struck by the casualty rate. One dimension of this destructiveness is clear. Our society establishes expectations and criteria for success that most men will never attain. Moreover, men internalize these expectations and regard their nonachievement as the sign of personal defects

(Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981, p. 216).

Within the field of adult development, male mid-life transition has been a topic of particular interest because of the observed changes that take place in men's lives at that time (Tamir, 1982). It seems to be the most stressful period of adulthood and represents a truly critical time during which decisions affecting the rest of one's life are made. Both Farrell and Rosenberg and Levinson and his associates studied the period more intensely than any other and it is the subject that has most attracted popular writers (Chew, 1976; Filene, 1981; McMorrow, 1974; Mayer, 1978; Merriam, 1980). Osherson (1980) has done a most useful study of the psychological processes that underlie mid-life changes, interpreting them as an experience of loss of the ideals of young adulthood. Clinical studies underscore the stressful aspect of the period but also note the positive new options that appear for an individual as life circumstances change (Levinson et al., 1978b; Norman and Scaramella, 1980; Tamir, 1982).

Vaillant's Work

In contrast to the above researchers, Vaillant's

work (1977) is a psychoanalytically oriented study of the changes that take place in the course of men's lives and is a continuation of a longitudinal study of men's psychological development begun in the early 1940's. His major interest is in men's defense mechanisms and whether these mechanisms have served men well or ill as they aged. In keeping with his focus on adaptation and the mechanisms of defense, Vaillant concluded that isolated traumatic events rarely mold individual's lives; rather, the direction of a person's life and happiness is determined by "the continued interaction between...choice of adaptive mechanisms and...sustained relationships with other people....Much of the increased stress observed in the lives of the emotionally ill is a result, not the cause of poor adaptation" (1977, p. 368-370). Finally, he feels that "we should respect the mature defenses and learn to admire and nourish them. Stoicism, altruism and artistic creativity should rarely be interfered with" (p. 371).

In an article written in 1980, Vaillant outlines the results of a study in which he attempted to validate the stages of adult development as Erikson outlined them. He concluded that, contrary to

Levinson's findings, adult development is an open-ended process with no "fixed chronological age at which interpersonal or occupational competence was established" (p.1358). Contrary to Farrell and Rosenberg's findings, he concluded that "adult development is not enormously influenced by education and privilege" (p. 1358). Vaillant's work has consistently remained within a psychodynamic framework and, in that respect, he is closer to Gould (1972 & 1978) than to Levinson and his associates (1978b). He presents a valuable counterpoint to other researchers.

A further indication that adult developmental cycles are beginning to have an impact is found in Richmond-Abbott's text on sex roles (1983) which takes as its organizing framework the stages of life through adulthood.

Psychology of Sex Roles

The next area of interest in the psychological literature, sex role development, has traditionally been an area of research and study (Biller, 1967; Hartley, 1970 & 1976; Maccoby, 1966; May, 1980; Stoller, 1968). In recent years, however, the focus

has shifted as women's studies began to question the psychological bases on which women's sex roles were posited (Bardwick, 1971; Block, 1973; Goodstein, 1977; Firestone, 1970; Heilbrun, 1973; Mitchell, 1971 & 1974). Whereas the attribution of "masculine" and "feminine" traits to men and women had been accepted as appropriate and normal, such stereotypical thinking was no longer taken for granted. On the one hand, this change was due to the influence of sociologists and anthropologists who viewed sex roles as functions of societal rather than individual need (Bernard, 1976b; Money & Tucker, 1975; Tavris & Offir, 1977); on the other, it was due to women's increasing recognition that their minority status in society was due to the bias of a "patriarchal society" rather than to their lack of competence (Mitchell, 1971).

The term "sex role" refers to the "set of behaviors and characteristics widely viewed as (1) typical of women or men (sex role stereotypes) and (2) desirable for women and men (sex role norms)" (Pleck, 1982, p. 10). As such, sex roles are learned behaviors which are both prescriptive and descriptive (Brooks-Gunn, 1979; Chafetz, 1974; Harrison, 1978; Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980; Lopata & Thorne, 1978; Pleck, 1976a;

Tavris & Offir, 1977)

Since the allocation of sex roles has been posited on psychological and biological differences between the sexes, considerable study of these differences has been undertaken over the past several decades. Once again, feminist studies have shifted the focus of this research and questioned some of the assumptions underlying past research. The most comprehensive review of existing studies on sex differences was done by Maccoby and Jacklin (1974). Their study was an attempt to determine the extent to which differences did indeed exist and what such differences might be. They concluded that there was far greater similarity between the characteristics of the sexes than there were differences, that there was often a testing bias in favor of finding differences, thereby causing researchers to minimize or overlook similarities, and that differences in behavior were socially determined in most instances rather than biologically based (Block, 1976). Other researchers have followed their lead and, in most contemporary treatments of the subject, a less stereotypical view of sex roles and sex differences is taken (Brooks-Gunn, 1979; Duberman, 1975; Hoyenga & Hoyenga, 1979; Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980;

McCoy, 1977; Richmond-Abbott, 1983; Stoll, 1974; Unger, 1979).

Men's sex role behavior research has now begun to focus on the socialization process whereby men learn their male roles. The process had always been considered difficult for men (Biller, 1967; Chodorow, 1974; Hartley, 1959) but the difficulties were seen as coming from the internal conflicts men had to overcome and the goals of male socialization were never questioned (Biller, 1967). More recently, the goals are being questioned and the strain men experience is seen as caused by the disparity between role demands and fundamental personality needs rather than an inability to resolve inner conflicts (Block, 1983; Pleck, 1976b).

Paradigms of Masculinity

The researcher who has done the most intensive study of the male sex role is Joseph Pleck (1976a, 1978 & 1982). In the Myth of Masculinity (1982), he explicates two paradigms that he feels underlie our contemporary understanding of the male sex role. The male sex role identity (MSRI) paradigm, he identifies

as the dominant set of ideas in our culture regarding men's roles. "In essence, this paradigm represents the way that our society has constructed a psychology of masculinity" (1982, p.1). The sex role strain (SRS) paradigm, Pleck sees as an emerging alternative explanation of male sex role behavior.

The MSRI paradigm essentially rests on the premise that the development of sex role identity is a psychodynamic process that can be measured in terms of masculine and/or feminine dimensions. Deviations from sex role identity through homosexuality or hypermasculinity, for example, are seen as disturbances of sex role identity. The paradigm acknowledges the particular difficulties men have in acquiring an adequate sex role identity but is clear in its belief that a clearly defined male sex role identity is necessary for psychological health.

In contrast to the MSRI paradigm, the sex role strain (SRS) paradigm views sex roles as limiting and constraining rather than as desirable and questions the validity of sex role identity as the goal of psychological development. Deviation from sex role norms, according to this paradigm, produces distress

because of societal sanctions not intrapsychic imbalances. Pleck has developed a set of propositions to elucidate this paradigm and, in contrast to the MSRI propositions, they emphasize the social role of sex role stereotyping and the social consequences of violating the roles.

Pleck's work is an attempt to situate our understanding of the development of the male sex role in a social context and to analyse its impact on men in contemporary society.

Androgeny

As research on sex roles increased and the understanding of masculinity and femininity as polar opposites came into question, the concept of androgeny was proposed as a more accurate way of understanding the relationship of these traits in men and women (Chafetz, 1974; Heilbrun, 1973; Osofsky & Osofsky, 1972). It was suggested that masculinity and femininity no longer be considered as opposed traits on a single continuum but as separate traits constituting two separate continua, each capable of independent measurement. As a consequence, masculine and feminine

traits could be simultaneously possessed by a single individual (Bem, 1976 & 1977; Constantinople, 1976). Androgenous individuals were those who could adapt their masculine or feminine behaviors situationally and the ideal of androgeny began to be set forth as the ideal of mental health. Androgeny was an important step forward in the conceptualization of the ways in which men and women are related psychologically. It provided a theoretical basis for both men and women to adopt non-stereotypical behavior (Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980).

Recently, however there has been a critique of the notion of androgeny. Lenny (1979), for example, warns against "value ossification...the danger of adopting what may be the too rigid, overgeneralized and value laden position that sex-typing per se is bad for mental health" (p. 708). She also criticized the lack of uniformity in the use of the term, androgeny, citing the fact that there are several scales which measure it (Bem, 1974; Berzins, Welling and Wetter, 1978; Heilbrun, 1976; Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1974), each of which arises from a different theoretical orientation so that valid comparison between them cannot be made.

Spence criticizes the adherents of androgeny because their schema do not take into account the multidimensionality of gender related phenomena. By this term, she means that gender typed behaviors are not related only to the sex of the individual but to many other environmental factors in their lives. Harrison (1978) sees androgeny as a transitional perspective which can be "characterized as a 'separate but equal' theory which attempts to affirm the psychological and social equality of men and women but perpetuates the association of personality characteristics with sex linked differences between men and women" (p. 328).

Alternative Models

Several authors have suggested models which transcend the dichotomy of masculine/feminine in the sex role socialization process. Hefner, Rebecca and Oleshansky (1975) have constructed a dialectical model for understanding sex role development which allows for a continually evolving adaptability on the part of the individuals as life circumstances change and different behaviors become useful or obsolete. While evolving

from the tradition that has produced the androgenous model, their approach is "sharply differentiated from what some authors discuss as androgeny. For some, androgeny is a stable psychological trait with equal balance of male and female characteristics, which allows the individual to conform to environmental demands to behave in either masculine or feminine ways" (1976, p. 95). Hefner and his associates wish to move away from this conceptualization of sex roles to a "pluralistic conception of society, with genuine [sex role] options available to all" and, in which, "assigned gender is irrelevant for decision making" (1975, p. 155-156).

Block (1973), extrapolating on the work of Loevinger (1970), proposes a model of sex role socialization that integrates changes in sex role definition with the larger developmental tasks faced by the individual, the tasks of ego and cognitive development. She assumes that the goal in the development of sexual identity is not the achievement of masculinity or femininity as popularly conceived but one in which "sexual identity... will mean the earning of a sense of self in which there is a recognition of gender secure enough to permit the individual to

manifest qualities our society, until now, has labeled as unmanly or unwomanly" (p.64). Her model shares Hefner's concern for overcoming the dichotomous thinking that influences certain aspects of the notion of androgeny.

Pleck (1975b) proposes a model of sex-role development based on Kohlberg's stages of moral development. According to his theory, a child would proceed from a first stage of "amorphous and unorganized sex role concepts, including confusion over the child's own gender". From this stage, the child would go on to a second stage in which "children learn the 'rules' of sex role differentiation and are motivated to make others and themselves conform to them". In a third and final stage, Pleck sees individuals transcending "sex role norms and boundaries, and developing psychological androgeny in accordance with inner needs and temperaments" (p. 172). Pleck sees particular value in his model because it explains the evolving sex role behaviors through the life cycle. Adolescents, for example, are much more rigid than mid-life adults about sex role behavior. In explaining sex role acquisition, Pleck uses a psycholinguistic model because he views sex role

acquisition as essentially a symbol learning process similar to language acquisition rather than as a process of identification, which is accepted theory in much research and writing.

While the models these authors propose are not identical, they all represent an attempt to overcome the polarization which has dominated thinking about sex roles in our society. In this respect, they are indications of the direction in which research is moving.

It should not be assumed, however, that everyone is agreed that sex role distinctions in society are restrictive and unhealthy. Heilbrun (1981) holds that "the organization of human social behaviors within an interdependent society must include the assignment of roles that help prescribe the behaviors to be expected of each member....Sex roles seem to have eroded in effectiveness, in part because a segment of society has challenged the authenticity, legality, and morality of assuming behavioral differences between men and women" (p. 1). Heilbrun has done considerable research and concludes that stereotypical roles are useful to society because they structure and make clear social

expectations. He distinguishes between a person's behavior which, he allows, may be masculine or feminine and their role which is sex role typed. His book is psychometrically oriented and does not address the social implications of sex role stereotyping, an issue that is critical in the thinking of many other writers.

Therapy With Men

Therapy with men is the final topic to be reviewed in the field of psychology. As knowledge about role strain (David & Brannon, 1976; Pleck, 1982) and the sociological factors which influence men's development increased, interest in men's therapeutic issues also began to grow (Lewis, 1981c; O'Neil, 1981a; Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1981; Skovholt, Schauble & David, 1980; Washington, 1979). In part, this interest was due to the fact that, although "culturally ours has traditionally been a man's world...men do not seem to be prospering personally" (Scher, 1981b, p. 199).

> It seems that power and perquisites do not ensure happiness, satisfactory adjustment, or any of the qualities that go into making a well-integrated, ably functioning individual. Therefore, counselors have ample reason to use their skills to assist men toward more satisfying lives (Scher, 1981b, p.199).

Client Needs

Therapeutic approaches are being developed that take into account sex role stereotyping and the fact that seeming pathological behaviors may sometimes be maladaptive responses to societal pressures (Berger, 1979; Collison, 1981; Schaef,1981; Scher, 1979a; 1981a & 1981b). A major influence in the development of these approaches has been the recognition of the role that socialization plays in determining male behavior patterns and male attitudes. This recognition has shifted the emphasis in therapy from a focus on men's inner psychological processes to a focus on the interaction of these inner processes with the process of socialization (Brownell, 1981; Ettkin, 1981).

O'Neil (1982)suggests six areas of men's behavior which have been negatively affected by male socialization and which can provide a focus for therapy: 1) restrictive emotionality, 2) health care problems, 3) obsession with achievement and success, 4) restrictive sexual and affectionate behavior, 5) socialized control, power and competition issues and 6) homophobia (Biggs & Fiebert, 1984; Fiebert, 1974). In addition to therapy, he suggests providing educational

and preventive programming as well as consciousness-raising groups for men seeking to work through these issues.

Therapist's Role

The process of male socialization has an impact not only on clients but also on therapists who must be aware of their own bias regarding appropriate sex role behavior for men. Bear, Berger and Wright (1979) focus on the task and role of the therapist and make several recommendations.

> In dealing with these matters, therapists are faced with three tasks. The first is to deal with the therapist's own investment in traditional sex-role expectations and standards....Secondly, therapists need to understand both the intrapsychic and interpersonal difficulties individuals face when they attempt to espouse nontraditional behavior. Third, therapists need to focus on the institutional constraints opposing nontraditional gender behavior (p. 192).

The role of the therapist is important in other ways as well. Given the stereotypical attribution of "expressive" and "instrumental" roles to men and women in our society and men's propensity to be more open with women and more competitive with men, the sex of the therapist can be a focus of concern (Birk, 1981; Carlson, 1981; Kaplan, 1979; Kenworthy, 1979; Toomer,

1980). A male therapist, for example, while functioning in his role as therapist, can also provide the male client with a useful role model of non stereotypical male behavior.

Particular Therapeutic Concerns

In the writings on therapy with men, there are particular issues that arise with fair frequency. Special attention is being paid to the needs of young boys faced with acquisition of gender roles (Bingham & Edmundson, 1984; Marlowe, 1981) and adolescents for whom emerging sexuality complicates even more the process of acquiring sexual identity (Coleman, 1981; Thompson, 1985). Alongside issues connected with the maturation process, there are issues which arise because of the status of special populations. Black men's experience of sex role socialization faces a different set of problems than a white, middle class man's experience and these differences need to be taken into account in therapy (Jones & Gray, 1983; Miller, 1984a; Savage, 1980). Gay men also face a particular set of problems (Beane, 1981; Clark, 1972; Seltzer, 1984). Finally, there are men in special circumstances, for example, teenage fathers, separating

men, batterers and sexual perpetrators, whose therapy is situationally oriented even though it must be done within the larger context of sex role socialization (Barrett, 1981; Morgan, 1981a; Sgroi, 1982; Watts & Courtois, 1981).

No particular treatment methods seem preferred in the literature although there are some trends which are fairly consistent. There is common agreement that men need to become more expressive of their feelings and open to accepting intimate relationships (Bruch, 1980; Christoph, 1982; Jourard, 1960; McGill,1985). For this reason, therapies which include bodywork (Bridge, 1983; Brownell, 1981; Vittitow, 1977) or other forms of non-verbal interaction (Ettkin, 1981; Marino, 1979) are often considered appropriate. Consciousness-raising groups are also favored because of their emphasis on sharing of feelings and experiences in a non-threatening atmosphere (Farrell, 1973; Heppner, 1981; Kaplan, 1976a; Karsk & Thomas, 1979; Kravetz & Sargent, 1977; Levine, 1973).

The field of psychology is broad and men's issues are fairly well represented in the writings. There are lacunae, however, especially in the area of male

developmental theory and therapeutic practice.

Sociology and Anthropology

I have chosen to consider the fields of sociology and anthropology together because they have several areas of common interest. Sociology is principally a study of social roles and anthropology a study of those roles as they manifest themselves intra- and cross-culturally. As we have seen in the review of the psychological literature, gender distinctions play an important part in prescribing social roles for women and men. In the sociological and anthropological literature, as well, a major focus of study has been the influence of gender on social roles, (Barker & Allen, 1976; Blaxall & Reagan, 1976; Brandes, 1980; Cater & Scott, 1975; David & Brannon, 1976; Hiller & Sheets, 1977; Shapiro & Shapiro, 1979), the variability of gender traits in different cultures (Davidson & Gordon, 1979; Duberman, 1975; Hartmann, 1976) and the social processes that enter into gender attribution (Brake, 1976; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Rosaldo & Lamphere, 1974). Kenneth Boulding (1976) has even suggested that this study of gender be called "dimorphics" since it studies "sexual dimorphism in the

total social system and the...fact that the human race is dimorphic" (p. 75).

In the first part of this section, I look closely at gender as it has been studied in the sociological and anthropological literature and point out the relevance of gender to men's studies. I then consider a number of other topics, such as patriarchy, male dominance, power relationships between men and women, male role strain, and the social institutions which influence men's socialization process. Finally, I consider a model proposed by Liddell (1977) for moving beyond the constrictions placed on men by the attribution of traditional gender traits.

In the psychological literature, "sex role" was the term generally used to indicate the different behaviors expected of men and women as well as the norms for those behaviors. In the sociological and anthropological literature, however, "gender" is the preferred term (Brake, 1976; Davidson & Gordon, 1979; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Safire, 1984; Shapiro, 1981) and, oftentimes, a distinction is drawn between the terms "sex" and "gender". Shapiro (1981) for example, uses the two terms to contrast "a set of biological

facts with a set of cultural facts" (p. 113). Many sociologists and anthropologists use this distinction because they wish to emphasize the fact that gender distinctions are socially constructed. "Gender roles are...socially developed or encouraged differences between the two sexes. The sexes are simply the two physically different groups into which all people fall" (Davidson & Gordon, 1979, p. 2).

Attribution of Gender Traits

Although most authors in these fields agree that gender related characteristics are functions of society's need to differentiate between men and women's roles the focus of their work varies. Davidson and Gordon (1979), for example, examine the effect of gender roles in the family and the workplace. They consider gender in historical perspective (19th century American communities) and in cross-cultural perspective (Sweden, China and Israel) as well as examining the role of social institutions in fostering and preserving gender roles. Their study, which provides a comprehensive look at gender from a sociological perspective, is intended to provide a basis for social change.

> Social change has been an integral concern of this book. Variation over time, as well as variation among social groups, illustrates the extent to which gender roles are social products....New research makes it increasingly possible to describe historical attitudes towards gender and makes it clear that the traditional, or mainstream, model of gender roles has lost the normative and behavioral support of many in our society...we still do not know the limits of the full range of possibilities for human beings or what is going to emerge (if anything) as the new normative consensus (Davidson & Gordon, 1979, p. 276).

Duberman (1975) also investigates gender from a broad perspective, including class and race differences in gender roles as well as cross-cultural differences. Her perspective, however, is explicitly feminist and her particular interest arose from her work in feminist studies and the way in which gender roles in our society negatively affect women. As a result, her book has less direct pertinence to men's roles except for the last chapter which was written by Warren Farrell and is titled "Beyond Masculinity: Liberating Men and their Relationships with Women".

Kessler and McKenna (1978), in contrast to the above cited authors, propose to examine a more philosophical question, the process of gender attribution itself. They are concerned with that "most basic incorrigible proposition...that the world exists

independently of our presence" (p. 4) and they proceed from an ethnomethodological point of view.

> In order to see the world as the ethnomethodologist does, it is necessary to ask the following questions: Suppose that we treat our belief in constancy and independent existence as just that, beliefs. Then suppose that, for the purpose of discovering what happens, we temporarily suspend our belief in these propositions....Applied to our interests in this book, the question becomes: How, in any interaction, is a sense of the reality of a world of two, and only two genders constructed? How do we "do" gender attributions? That is, what kinds of rules do we apply to what kinds of displays, such that in every concrete instance we produce a sense that there are only men and women, and that this is an objective fact, not dependent on the particular instance (p. 5).

They pursue their argument by studying gender construction in different cultures and then in transsexuals, for whom gender attribution is a particularly acute problem. Their research findings are significant in that they found gender attribution less bound to genital differences than to tertiary characteristics such as facial expression, movement and body posture (p. 155-156). They also found, contrary to popular belief, that men and women behave in a more similar than dissimilar fashion.

One of their findings indicated that people tend to attribute male gender to a person more readily than

female gender, a finding that is notable when considered in the light of male dominance in our society. Shapiro (1981) refers to this phenomenon as "markedness", a term she borrowed from linguists for whom it refers to assymetrical relationships between a pair of categories. In this instance, women in our society are identified in terms of men.

> The terms "man" and "woman", for example, serve to contrast male and female members of the larger class of human beings; as such, they appear to be complementary opposites. At the same time, the term "man" as we know, can be used in a more general sense to contrast the human species as a whole with some other category....In oppositions of this sort, the more general term is referred to as the "unmarked" member of the pair, while the other, more restricted in its meaning, is the "marked" term (1981, p. 110-111).

Kessler and McKenna's conclusions are intriguing for they contend that our society's predetermination that there are two genders obliges us to classify people in one of those genders. In contrast, they are proposing a "paradigm change in the way gender is viewed, a shift to seeing gender attribution as primary and gender as a practical accomplishment" (p. 163). Their basic attitude is that dimorphism, grounded in a so-called biological necessity is neither an adequate nor necessary basis for making gender attribution in our society. This viewpoint goes beyond much of the

discussion of sex roles, including the notion of androgeny which takes for granted a dimorphic approach to gender while attempting to move beyond its contemporary ramifications. Kessler and McKenna's work deserves further study.

Brake (1976) adopts a position similar to that of Kessler and McKenna in that he views gender as a set of characteristics that are socially prescribed for people but which do not necessarily correspond to a person's sense of self identity. In his article, he uses the terms "ascribed" and "achieved" gender to indicate gender characteristics as they are imposed by society's norms and those that a person attains through their own process of maturation. One of the difficulties that arise from our society's emphasis on "ascribed" gender, according to Brake, is that this process requires people with ambiguous gender identity to be placed into the category of deviant since ascribed gender categories have no flexibility or tolerance of deviance. The effect of these restraints is the oppression of certain groups of people since our society has "no concept of gender as a dialectic between that ascribed and that we wish to achieve. The choices we see as open, become <u>the</u> choices. A

humanistic sociology must look beyond the massive objectification of the social world to enquire whom these objectifications serve" (p. 182).

Brake's article is written in defense of sexual variability but goes beyond his immediate goal to underline a number of issues, such as the social construction of gender and the influence of social norms in the attribution of gender traits, that are important for this dissertation.

Mechling (1981), in an interesting chapter in a book devoted to organizations for children, investigates the relationship between what Brake has called "ascribed" and "achieved" gender by studying the socialization process of young boys as it takes place in a Boy Scout summer camp. He chose this setting because he is particularly interested in the process by which the "natural dimorphism of sex" becomes the "social construction of gender" and felt that the Boy Scouts, as a major cultural force in the socialization of young men (Hantover, 1980; MacLeod, 1983), would be a likely setting in which to observe the integration of young boys into the "middle-class American male world-view".

Mechling's article is pertinent to our study because he is illustrating one way in which boys are socialized into the traditional male role. As he states clearly in the article, this process is an acculturation process which purports to be based on sexual differentiation but which, in fact, is based on a cultural need.

> From this perspective we might say that culture induces in the child the need to differentiate himself or herself from the opposite sex as part of the process of discovering an identity to carry into adult life. Culture induces the need, and then invents symbolic rituals and institutions to meet the need. Culture begets culture in a spiral of culture-creating acts (Mechling, 1981, p.157).

If gender is, indeed, socially constructed as the above cited authors contend, then the effects of gender roles in society need to be evaluated in that light. If they are not the natural result of sexual differentiation, what purpose do they serve? In the course of his article on "ascribed" and "achieved" gender Brake remarks that the function of many of these social roles seems to be the support of male dominance or patriarchy. This contention is shared by a number of other authors (Bird, 1968; Delphy, 1976; Gillespie, 1971; Lipman-Blumen, 1976 & 1984; Pleck, 1977; Polatnik, 1973-74; Shatan, 1977, Winter, 1977) who are

investigating the historical and sociological reasons for men's need for dominance.

Men's Anxiety and Need for Dominance

Pleck (1977), explains men's need for control from a socio/psychological perspective. Men need women to express emotions on their behalf and to validate their sense of masculinity. In reaction to this perceived power of women over them, men feel a reactive need to dominate women. If women's roles in society were to change, men fear they would lose these services and this power.

In examining men's power relationships with other men, Pleck points out two dynamics. One is the division in our society between straight and gay men which he defines as a power relationship. Our society's homophobia makes it possible for men to use accusations of homosexuality as a means of maintaining power over other men. The other dynamic is the role in which women are cast to preserve the structure of male relationships. At times, women are seen as symbols of male success while, at other times, they serve as mediators in men's conflicts with each other. They

also serve as a refuge for men "from the dangers and stresses of relating to other males" (p.18). Finally, they provide an underclass which serves as a safeguard to men. "Under patriarchy women represent the lowest status, a status to which men can fall only under the most exceptional circumstances, if at all. Competition among men is serious but its intensity is mitigated by the fact that there is a lowest possible level to which men cannot fall" (p. 18-19). Pleck's analysis is one attempt to examine the effects of gender as it is manifested in contemporary society.

Hantover (1981) analyses men's need for power as a defensive reaction to anxiety about their ability to perform adequately in social roles.

> The anxiety expresses itself in the increased saliency of gender in social life and in a compensatory emphasis on the assertive and aggressive side of the male role. The man "protesteth too much" is the commonsense recognition of what behavioral scientists term defensive masculinity. Salience refers to an increased concern over what is proper male...behavior (p. 88).

This anxiety plays a role throughout men's development and Hantover traces its varied manifestations in childhood, adolescence and adulthood. In each stage, however, the focus is different. In

childhood, anxiety is provoked mainly by a fear of not living up to the goals of socialization as prescribed especially by parents whereas in adolescence the focus turns to peers as the source of socialization pressures. In adulthood, in addition to anxiety about attaining goals, there is the added anxiety that comes from feeling one is not making sufficient progress in attaining life's goals. The anxiety that Hantover analyses in this article relates directly to issues of male power because it is the perceived lack of power that creates anxiety and the ability to hide one's anxiety is a sign that one possesses power.

Male Role Strain

In his article on anxiety, Hantover refers to "male role strain", a theme reflected throughout the literature on men (Capon, 1984; David & Brannon, 1976; Doyle,1983; Franklin, 1984; Komarovsky, 1976; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Staples, 1978; Taubman, 1986; Turner, 1970). While men wield power in society, they pay a heavy price in both emotional and physical health. Role strain is the term used by sociologists to describe this plight (Cicone & Ruble, 1978; Komarovsky, 1976) and refers to the lack of fit between personality

and role expectations as well as to the conflict caused by contradictory role expectations (David & Brannon, 1976; Hantover, 1981; Turner, 1970).

The cause of much of this strain can be found in the pressure social institutions exert on men's lives (Eisenhart, 1983; Family Coordinator, 1979; Fine, 1981; Hantover, 1980; Joffe, 1971; Kirshner, 1981; Mechling, 1981; Staples, 1978; Schaef, 1981). Individual men feel powerless to make any changes in the face of a socialization process which militates against change (Etzkowitz, 1971) and, although men seem to choose male groupings for support (Lipman-Blumen, 1976), these groups provide little emotional nurturance because of men's inability to be vulnerable and expressive (Balswick, 1981; Balswick & Peek, 1971; Ettorre, 1982; Sattell, 1983).

The social institution which is most influential in men's lives is the workplace. It is in the workplace that they receive the most validation of their role (Brenton, 1966; David & Brannon, 1976; Gould, 1974) but it is also the workplace that puts the most stress on men (Capon, 1984; Chapman, 1981-1982; David & Brannon, 1976; Liebow, 1980; Lippert, 1979;

Olsen, 1979; Safilios-Rothschild, 1976; Shapiro & Shapiro, 1979; Shostak, 1976; Stodder, 1979). Writings that relate to men's roles and the workplace are also found in the field of economics where, for the most part, the focus has been on women's roles (Bernard, 1976a; Carlsson, 1976; Strober, 1976a & 1976b) rather than on men's. The oppressive aspects of work for men and the damaging effects it can have on other areas of their lives have been dealt with briefly (Brod, 1983-84; Etzkowitz, 1971; Glazer-Malbin, 1975; Hiller & Sheets, 1977) but remains an area in need of further research.

A Model for Change

For men who wish to move beyond patriarchy, Liddell (1977) proposes a three stage model of the change process. In the first stage, a man becomes aware of his role in continuing a patriarchal system and begins to feel a sense of guilt. The second stage, in which he begins to move away from patriarchy is seen by Liddell as particularly difficult because "feminists may despise him for being still too masculine; men will despise him for being unmanly" (p. 369). In the third stage, a man begins to develop his identity without

using woman as a mirror image. Liddell's model is based on an assumption shared by many writers (Pleck, 1976a, 1976b & 1979) that men's identity in a patriarchal system is dependent on women filling a complementary role in the system. Change, then is moving toward self-autonomy and self-definition. The process is made difficult because society, as a whole, continues to assume a complementary identity model. Liddell's model is useful because of the framework in which it presents change. It assumes that change for men is a sociological as well as a psychological process.

Critique of Sociological Method

Although many authors in the field of sociology have investigated gender and its effects on men and society, some have questioned the ability of sociology, itself, to assist in bringing about change because, in their view, the very process of sociological inquiry has a sexist bias which prevents it from being neutral (Ardener, 1972; Morgan, 1981b; Oakley, 1974; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1971; Shapiro, 1981; Stanley & Wise, 1983). Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1971) note, for example, that, although the "founding

fathers" expressed concern over the subjection of women, they accepted a sexist paradigm for analysing sexual relationships and were thus prevented by their methodology from achieving their stated goals.

> Ward and Thomas conceded that women should be given the formal right to sexual equality and equal education opportunity. But these rights were merely formal because they were not supported by the advocacy of institutional changes in either the family or the market. These men talked about rights and opportunities for women without considering significant changes in family relationships (p. 794).

Oakley's comments in The Sociology of Housework reiterate this theme.

> Sociology is sexist because it is male-oriented. By 'male-oriented' I mean that it exhibits a focus on, or a direction towards, the interests and activities of men in a gender-differentiated society. The social situations of men and women today are structurally and ideologically discrepant, and the dominant value-system of modern industrialized societies assigns greater importance and prestige to masculine than to feminine roles. This bias is reflected within sociology, which tends to adopt the values of the wider society. Attempts at 'objectivity' - a major premise of the sociological method - may reduce many obvious biases, but they do not seem to have affected the deeply ingrained bias of sexism (Oakley, 1974, p.2).

Morgan (1981b) supports this same contention through observations of his own work as a participant observer of women workers in a factory, his comments on Weber's Protestant Ethic which he sees as "a study of

masculinity...intimately bound up with the developing social formation of capitalism", and his reflections on the structure of academic life which largely precludes women from positions of power. Morgan is arguing for a "critical examination of the social context of sociological research, the assumptions that arise out of this context and the way in which these assumptions...shape the more detailed process of enquiry" (p.86). While his major emphasis is feminist in that he is seeking to examine the deficiencies of a male power structure in sociology, he sees his arguments as having a wider impact for men as well.

> What I am arguing, more prosaically, is that this is not just a matter of concern for those who happen to be interested in feminism or "women's studies" but something that affects everyone engaged in sociological work. Sexist domain assumptions, in whatever specialized field of enquiry, do have consequences for the outcome of investigations and in many cases the final outcome would have been different had the investigator taken account of questions of gender (p. 87).

> In this chapter, I have suggested that the now well- documented permeation of sociology by sexist background assumptions is less a product of the adoption or failure to adopt a particular methodology and much more a product of the social relations of sociological production. I have also argued that sexism is as much to do with the ways in which taken-for-granted notions of "men" and "masculinity" are handled in sociological enquiry, notions which are most frequently manifested in absences or silences, as it is with the way in which women are ignored or stereotyped in such work. Finally, I have attempted to argue that such considerations matter for the reason that had

> such assumptions and notions been confronted and explored, the outcome of the enquiry under examination might have been very different or might have been the fruitful course of new lines of enquiry (p. 107-108).

In the fields of sociology and anthropology, considerable work is being done on the social implications of our concept of gender and the manner in which gender traits are attributed to men and women. This work is an important resource for the development of courses in men's studies and provides a social context in which to integrate research in the field of psychology.

Literature

Literature, along with history, was one of the first disciplines to study men from a gender perspective. Although men had long been depicted as heroes and protagonists in literary works, they had generally not been studied from the perspective of the influence of maleness on their functioning. Eugene August comments on this situation.

> Why, despite all the scholarly attention paid to males, were certain questions so seldom asked about them? Historians and psychologists had hardly ignored males, and literature seemed to contain an endless assortment of stories about them especially about men "testing" or "proving " their "manhood" under adverse conditions. But, despite all this attention, why were there still

> so many unquestioned assumptions about men? Why, for example, did Ibsen feel it important to tell us so much about Nora and so little about Torvald? (August, 1982, p. 583)

Though the study of men and maleness through literature is well represented in courses in men's studies (Femiano, 1984), there are not many writers who treat of it in a critical way. Pringle and Stericker (1980) have edited an anthology which addresses the questions raised by August as does Bamber (1982) in a work devoted to the question of gender in Shakespeare. Shaffert (1983) considers gender roles in F. Scott Fitzgerald and Townsend (in press) analyses Parkman's writings, showing how Parkman's concept of manliness guided his portrayal of both himself and the men of other races that he met on his travels. The article is an excellent example of analysing literary works from a gender perspective. Heilbrun (1973), in a book dealing with androgeny, illustrates her thesis through a consideration of the the Bloomsbury group but her perspective is generally feminist.

In addition to teachers of literature, there are practitioners, men whose writing comes from an awareness of the conflicts that are inherent in being male in contemporary society. (Bly, 1982; Miller, 1983,

Smyth, 1982)

every man for himself

we shall be brilliant
we shall collect data
we shall write books
about men
unhappiness and
bedrooms

we shall extoll vulnerability
keep a loaded 45 within reach
kick ass when necessary
and get on with the business
of brotherhood

we shall make a key
it will open the door
there will be no house

we are the scholars
of the fast break
and the full court press
(Miller, 1983, unpaged)

The application of the emerging awareness regarding men and maleness to works of literature is important for the field of men's studies. It is an area which merits greater attention.

Men and Maleness in a Multi-cultural Perspective

Any study of men and maleness, to be complete, must include multi-cultural studies as well. Unfortunately, few have been done in this area because the study of gender issues among oppressed minorities

has been overshadowed by attention given to race and class bias (Butler, 1984; Cazenave, 1984; David, 1968; Franklin, 1984; Hacker, 1975; Richmond-Abbott, 1983; Savage & Kelly, 1980; Staples, 1978). In this section, most of the writings discussed are about Black men since such writings are more prevalent in the literature than writings about men of other racial and ethnic origins.

Although more research has been done on Black men, even in these instances studies generally have a racial rather than a gender focus (Barbeau, 1974; David, 1968; Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Hannerz, 1969; Jackson, 1976; Vontress, 1971; Wilkinson, 1977). Vontress, for example, (1971) in an article entitled "The Black Male Personality", talks about "masculine protest" which influences "a man who feels insecure about some aspect of himself" to "assume the opposite behavior of what he actually feels inside" (p. 14). Such comment is in consonance with other studies on male insecurity (Hantover, 1981; Pleck, 1982) but, unlike more recent authors who look at this insecurity from a gender perspective, Vontress is largely concerned with the effects of racism on Black men's self-perception and defines personality in psychoanalytic terms. There is

no consideration of the socialization process of growing up Black nor of gender.

Another reason gender has not been a focus of study for Black men as well as for men of other oppressed groups is that much of the energy that could have gone into an investigation of the role of gender in their lives was taken up defending against societal myths that oppressed them (Ebony, 1983; Pleck, 1982; Staples, 1971& 1983).

> In discussing the burden of masculinity and race for the black male, one has to assign priorities. It is quite clear that the problems caused by the legacy of racism are paramount. Although many middle-class black males will have to concentrate on the changing role of women, black males of the working class must continue to confront the challenge of economic survival. It is questionable how much emphasis should be placed on re-orienting their concept of traditional sex roles when they, in many cases, have not been allowed equal access to those roles (Staples, 1978, p. 180).

Although many studies done about Black men have been contaminated by bias in the form of these myths, the validity of such studies is only now being called into question as the deficiencies of the stereotyped traditional view of the Black man becomes more apparent. Cazenave (1984) helps to shed some light on the state of research about Black men in a recent study

on the relationship of race, socioeconomic status and age to the concept of masculinity for Black men. He states that most studies of Black men have been been based on two basic orientations, the "culture-of-poverty" orientation of the Moynihan report which "assumes that Black male gender roles are a product of a subculture that emphasized aggression, irresponsibility and exploitation" and an "alternative model [which] assumes that Black men have accepted the basic masculine goals of society, but do not have the operational means to carry them out" (p. 641). In contrast to these two orientations, Cazenave points out that there are, in fact, four categories of studies relating to Black men's family roles.

> Most of the literature on Black men focuses on father absence, where low-income men are not even present and functioning within the home. Another large category centers on vestigial relationships, where low-income and working-class men are only minimally involved in family affairs. A smaller group of studies involves economically secure Black men who are very dominant in their familial authority and place a great deal of emphasis on economic provision for their families. This category includes patriarchs and men who emphasize the role of economic providers. Finally, the smallest group of studies involve the primarily middle-class Black men in complex and developmental roles. (Cazenave, 1984, p. 641)

Because of the narrow focus of most studies, Cazenave feels that they have not accurately portrayed

the varied ways in which Black men conceive of their masculinity and he concludes from his own studies that an adequate study of male sex roles among Black men must take into account the "broader macro-level social context" and its effect on their "micro-level interpretation of the masculine world and its appropriate scripts". "Race, age and socioeconomic status comprise both the objective circumstances men find themselves in when beginning their quest for masculine attainment and the mediators through which they provide a subjective interpretation of masculine reality" (p.654). His work provides some directions for interpreting Black maleness in a more reality based context.

Recently, there has been some consideration given to the issue of Black male identity from a gender oriented perspective (Butler, 1984; Pleck, 1982; Staples, 1978 & 1982; Wallace, 1979, White, 1983). Horton (1984) studies the ante-bellum era and investigates the ways in which Free Black men learned gender roles and how these roles were enacted despite the restrictions placed on them by a white racist society. Genovese (1980) looks at the role of the slave father showing how they were frequently good

providers for their families contrary to the misconceptions that have been historically handed on about Black men in that role. Runfola (1980) examines the role of Black men in sports. Wadinasi (1977) considers the effects on Black men's health of their inability to express their feelings; Dee (1983) talks about the changing roles of black men in the home. Franklin (1984) and Richmond-Abbott (1983) have integrated considerations of the Black male into their texts on sex roles and male identity. Savage and Kelley (1980) have written about the particular concerns to be taken into account in counseling Black men.

Future work in the area of Black male development will continue to deal with issues of race and class as well as gender but the lines of differentiation are now beginning to be more clear. There is still a need for similar studies to be done for other minority groups.

Popular Writings About Men

In the early 1970's, a new genre of writing began to appear which eventually would be given the name "Men's Literature". This title, however, was a title

of convenience rather than a definition since the writings, themselves, although they all dealt with men, arose from various motivations and were written from various perspectives. Some men wrote in response to their experiences with women who were changing their roles and expectations; others were responding to personal changes in their own lives as they discovered that the goals towards which they had been socialized to strive were no longer satisfying many of their needs. I have labelled these writings "popular" because they were intended for a general audience. They constitute a very diverse group, however, both in terms of their origins and their perspectives.

One group of writings was a direct outgrowth of the neonate men's movement (Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto, 1973; Sawyer, 1970; Unbecoming Men, 1971; Weiss, 1974) and was explicitly directed toward consciousness-raising and change.

> We, as men, want to take back our full humanity. We no longer want to strain and compete to live up to an impossible oppressive masculine image - strong, silent, cool, handsome, unemotional, successful, master of women, leader of men, wealthy, brilliant, athletic and "heavy". We no longer want to feel the need to perform sexually, socially, or in any way to live up to an imposed male role, from a traditional American society or a "counterculture" (Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto, 1973, p.173).

Writings to bring about social awareness and change were particularly prevalent in the early years of the movement when men were still attempting to define this new phenomenon that was taking place and to delineate some of its implications (Biller, 1974b; Davis, 1973; Farrell, 1974; Fasteau, 1974; Goodman & Walby, 1975; Johnson, 1974; Kaye, 1974; Korda, 1974; Levine, 1973; McGrady, 1975; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Roache, 1972; Silverstein, 1975). The general intent of these books was to explain how men were socialized into the male role and the implications of that role for men and society.

During this same period, however, there was another current which grew in opposition to the women's movement and which wrote in defense of the traditional male role (Andelin, 1972; Bednarik, 1970; Gilder, 1973; Goldberg, 1973; Jonas, 1970; Vilar, 1972). These writers reviewed the sociological, anthropological and psychological data and concluded that the male role, as traditionally conceived, was functionally necessary in society. They were opposed to change.

As time went on, popular writings took on more

varied forms and today, we can distinguish a number of currents in books intended for a general audience. The consciousness-raising tradition has continued (Bly, 1982; Bucher, 1976; Gerzon, 1982 & 1983; Goldberg, 1976 & 1979; Krahn, 1982; Merton, 1984; Miller, 1983; Reynaud, 1981; Rubin, 1979; Sayers, 1983; Shapiro & Shapiro, 1979; Smyth, 1982; Snodgrass, 1977; Tolson, 1977; Wetzsteon, 1979) and represents, in many ways, the more radical writings of the movement. The authors are often explicitly anti-sexist (Chesler, 1978; Reynaud, 1981; Shapiro & Shapiro, 1979; Snodgrass, 1977; Tolson, 1977) and strong advocates of the abolition of patriarchy in favor of a more egalitarian society.

A second current represented in the surge of writing that began in the mid-1970's is confessional literature, personal accounts of men's experience (Bell, 1982; Diamond, 1983; Filene, 1981; Firestone, 1978; Kriegel, 1979; Robertiello, 1979; Rubin, 1980). These books serve a double purpose. As confessional literature, they follow a long tradition of books e.g. The Confessions of St. Augustine, which are personal accounts of the author's life written as a way of understanding the structure and patterns of the human

experience. Their second purpose seems to be to provide models for other men whose lives are caught in contemporary change.

Another genre which has begun to emerge more recently is the textbook on men's studies. These books (Doyle, 1983; Forisha, 1978; Franklin, 1984; Lewis, 1981; McLean & Crawford, 1979; Pleck & Pleck, 1980; Stockard & Johnson, 1980; Thompson, 1980) are not specifically called textbooks but they are comprehensive in their analysis of men's behavior and psychology and their contents are arranged in such a way as to lend themselves to a classroom setting. Women's studies has had books in this genre for several years (Brooks-Gunn, 1979; Hoyenga & Hoyenga, 1979; Hyde & Rosenberg, 1980; Mackie, 1983; Richmond-Abbott, 1983; Stoll, 1974; Tavris & Offir, 1977; Unger, 1979). Men's studies have been slower to develop such texts because, until recently, there were not sufficient resources in the field for someone to develop a comprehensive and integrated overview of research writings. It is likely this genre will grow as men's studies research grows and courses are developed which demand textbooks.

Literature in defense of the traditional male role

has also continued to develop. Generally, writers who continue to maintain the need for a sharp differentiation of roles in society also defend a somewhat more independent role for women (Gordon, 1982). While they agree that women have been oppressed they feel that men, too, are victims of the socialization process and should not bear the total blame for the inequities in our society (Baumli, 1985; Goldberg, 1979; Skjei, 1981). The men's rights movement, for example, while it shares certain goals with the anti-sexist men's movement, generally supports the tenet that men are discriminated against (Karsk & Thomas, 1979; Williamson, 1985; Wishard & Wishard, 1980)

The stream in the men's movement which supports a more traditional definition of sex roles while still promoting change in society, is represented more in books written for a general audience than in research articles and books written within a particular academic discipline. This fact may be due to the need for those advocating change to substantiate their claims while those who feel the status quo functions well have no such need. Tradition speaks for them. For these reasons, the popular literature about men is probably

more representative of the wide diversity of opinion about men than is the more specialized literature in the academic disciplines.

Male Sexuality and Male Health

As the men's movement grew, male sexuality and sexual attitudes emerged as an area of concern. Traditionally, men had talked little about their own sexuality because stereotypical expectations about male sexual behavior prevented them from openly acknowledging their uncertainties and fears. As men began to reexamine their roles and attitudes in other areas of their lives, however, they also began to acknowledge that their attitudes toward sexuality were problematic. Concomitant with this reevaluation of male sexual attitudes was an emergent concern about men's health. The two topics are be considered together because they are frequently linked in the literature.

Growing up male became an early focus of interest (Julty, 1979; Litewka, 1977; Morrison, no date; Petras, 1975; Reynaud, 1981; Stoltenberg, 1981; Unbecoming Men, 1971) as men realized that their sexual attitudes and

behaviors were rooted in a socialization process that imposed on them heavy burdens of performance without giving them adequate guidelines or support.

> I was raised in America and learned - as did many other boys in my childhood and men I know now - to perform sexually on desire or request. This performance I think can be considered the norm, an ability that most males wanted to develop or maintain. The males who didn't conform to this norm usually felt incomplete, unskilled, or unmanly. And this insufficiency often resulted in self-damning fear and anxiety, while other "healthy" males who automatically or easily conformed to the norm just cruised along, dropping anchor in this or that port when entertainment's hunger urged (Litewka, 1977, p. 17).

As men felt freer to acknowledge their true feelings about their own sexuality, it became clear to many of them that their expectations about sex were unrealistic because they were based on myths about sexuality from their childhood and adolescent. These men also began to realize that their attitudes toward sexuality frequently had an adverse impact on their lives and the lives of those around them. (Metcalf & Humphries, 1985; Morgan, 1981a; Pollack, 1981; Singer, 1979; Thompson, 1985). Much of the literature about male sexuality has been written with the intention of demystifying these myths (Gross, 1978; Julty,1979; Petras, 1975; Pietropinto & Simenauer, 1977; Zilbergeld, 1978).

Indicative of this new awareness about sexuality was a revision of attitudes toward masturbation, a subject which seemed to symbolize for many men the numerous conflicts they experienced around male sexuality in general (Bevson, 1977; Friday, 1980; Julty, 1979; Petras, 1975; Unbecoming Men, 1971; Zilbergeld, 1978). Masturbation, as was the case for most of male sexuality, was a taboo topic except as it was warned against in books on sexuality and health (MacFadden, 1923; Petras, 1975). As a result, it could not be openly discussed and even less could it be engaged in without guilt. As attitudes about sexuality began to change, masturbation, too, came to be seen in a different light. It was understood as a form of auto-eroticism, a source of self-pleasuring and a legitimate expression of one's sexuality.

This revised view of masturbation represented part of a larger move to place male sexuality into a context of sensuality. Men traditionally were not seen as sensuous because sensuousness was linked to femininity, vulnerability and weakness and, therefore, was unmanly. A number of books appeared, whose aim was to combat these stereotypes through broadening men's

understanding of sexuality (Castleman, 1980; Julty, 1979; Zilbergeld, 1978). To some extent, these books can be seen as modern sex manuals although they were less prescriptive than traditional manuals (Gordon, 1980; Rosenberg, 1980) and the values they subscribed to were counter to many traditional attitudes about sexuality.

As revised attitudes about male sexuality spread, men began to realize that their traditional stance toward male sexuality which linked it with aggressiveness and strength was part of a larger picture for, within a patriarchal society, male sexuality, and particularly male heterosexuality, is seen as one of the the ways men wield power (Ettorre, 1982; Jackson, 1982; Litewka, 1977; Metcalf & Humphries, 1985; Novick, 1979; Overfield, 1982; Reynaud, 1981). Because of this link, any threat to maleness as manifested through sexuality was felt as threatening to men's self-concept and social role.

This link of sexuality with patriarchy is also seen as responsible for the widespread homophobia in our society (Clark, 1972; Interracial Books for Children Bulletin, 1983; Kennedy, 1977; Lehne, 1976;

Morin & Garfinkle, 1978; Reynaud, 1981). From a cultural perspective, homophobia is "any belief system which supports negative myths and stereotypes about homosexual people" (Morin & Garfinkle, 1978, p.30); from an individual perspective it is "the irrational fear or intolerance of homosexuality" (Lehne, 1976, p. 66). In terms of traditional male sexuality, homosexuals are threatening because they are different and, therefore, perceived as calling into question the heterosexual identity of many men. Homophobia, then, is one manifestation of traditional male sexuality as it is linked to male power in society.

Another manifestation is violence against women. Although violence against women rarely has its roots in sexual desire (Beneke, 1982; Groth, 1979; Langevin, 1985), it frequently manifests itself in sexually aggressive behavior (Betzold, 1977; Prescott, 1975; Reynaud, 1981; Watts & Courtois, 1981). The current campaign against pornography on the part of the anti-sexists men's movement is one response to this aspect of male sexuality (Castleman, 1980; Changing Men, 1985; Faraday, 1982; Rowan, no date; Stoltenberg, 1981) for it links the objectification of women in pornography with a social norm that condones violence against them.

Renewed interest in sexuality also made it possible to look at specific topics such as male fertility (Castleman, 1983a; Culverwell, 1983), circumcision (Samuels & Samuels, 1983; Whipple, 1984), male contraception (Castleman, 1982 & 1981-82; Goldstein and Feldberg, 1982; Weld & Gould, no date), sexual dysfunction (Castleman, 1980; Julty, 1974) and sexually transmitted diseases (Castleman, 1983b & 1983c) from a new perspective. Masters and Johnson, for example (1970), have been considered a classic treatment of sexual dysfunction because of the thoroughness of their work and its "objective" viewpoint. The writers of the 1970's differed from such researchers in that they saw male sexuality through a more subjective lens and analyzed it in the context of a socialization process which gave sexual values and sexual behavior a history and a social context.

Correlative to the widened interest in men's sexuality was an increased interest in men's health in general (Haley, 1978; Julty, 1979 & 1981-1982; McWaters, 1981-1982; Medical Self-Care, 1983; Ramey, 1972; Rappoport, 1981-82; Roen, 1974; Silber, 1981;

Swanson & Forrest, 1984). Men traditionally have paid little attention to the maintenance of their health and this inattention, once again, seems to have been due to men's need to be seen as strong and invulnerable. Medical and demographic facts about men's health have begun to change that perspective. Men do not live as long as women and are prone to a higher fatality rate than women (Meinecke, 1981). This susceptibility of men to illness and disease has become a cause of concern because it is seen as linked less to biological causes than to the stress men undergo in attempting to fulfill their role expectations (Chapman, 1981-1982; Ferguson, 1983; Goldberg, 1976; Harrison, 1978; Hutt, 1972; Jourard, 1964; Keen & Ferguson, 1983; Meinecke, 1981).

Literature in the area of sexuality and health includes a large body of significant writing on homosexuality (D'Emilio, 1983; Franklin, 1984; Katz, 1976; Morin & Garfinkle, 1978; Morrison, no date; Novick, 1979; Oaks, 1980). Homosexuality is a critical issue because not only is it a mode of sexually relating but, very frequently, it is seen as a political statement about oppression and power in society. Consequently, it is one of the links between

the social/political aspects of sexuality and the behavioral aspects. Writings in this area often have a particular salience because they point out issues about men and power unnoticed by mainstream authors (D'Emilio, 1983; Katz, 1976; Oaks, 1980).

At the same time, many of the writings about homosexuality deal with the same issues as writings by heterosexuals, sexual identity issues (Baumli, 1982), the role of pornography (Humphries, no date; Stoltenberg, 1984), sexually linked diseases (Carceres & Wright, 1983; Castleman, 1983d), and masturbation, (Bevson, 1977).

Literature about sexuality and health is an important segment of literature on men because it addresses personal issues in a concrete way. For this reason, it often serves as a way of introducing men to other issues that deal with masculinity in our society. It is important also because it links together the physical aspects of sexuality with the social and political aspects. In this respect, it serves as a paradigm of the many issues that men face in reevaluating and understanding their roles in contemporary society.

Other Areas of Study

There has been work done on men and maleness in other academic areas but the literature is not sufficiently extensive to merit a section of its own. In the area of religion, for example, Mary Daly's (1973) critique of religion from a feminist perspective has important implications for men's studies. Ong (1981) and Bianchi and Ruether (1976) have both done studies of men which are highly relevant because they deal with issues of aggression and violence from a religious perspective. Jewett (1975) can be seen as a more traditional theologian in that his work is an exegesis of the text with a view to countering criticism that Christianity's sexism is based on the Bible.

Another area of study, somewhat more difficult to define, is what I term philosophy because it deals with the production of knowledge. Spender (1981) calls it the "politics of knowledge" (p. 1) and Schaef (1981) refers to it as the "white male system". Harding (1983), in Discovering Reality calls it the "sex/gender system". All of these authors are writing from a

feminist perspective and pointing out that the production of knowledge in our society is mainly a male occupation (Overfield, 1982). Since knowledge is power, these studies also deal with the distribution of power and the effects of this distribution. Keller (1985) has written an incisive analysis of the history of science as a male preserve, pointing out the effects of male bias on the generation of scientific theory. Lipman-Blumen (1984) has written a study of the effects of power with particular attention to the effects of oppression of minority groups. Writings in this area should be included in men's studies because they furnish a context within which to understand men's resistance to social and psychological change.

Conclusions

This review of the literature has indicated the many fields of study that are pertinent to men's studies. In developing a curriculum for a program of study, all of them will be represented. The major themes that have emerged are the importance of gender in understanding men's psychology and behavior, the essential role the socialization process plays in the inculcation of male behavior and male thought patterns,

and the difficulty that men and women face in attempting to change patterns of thought and behavior that are cultural givens in a particular time. Secondary themes that have emerged are the importance of a knowledge of history and literature for the understanding of men as an extremely diverse group and the need to include men of all racial backgrounds and classes as well as men of different sexual orientations in any study. This chapter has also illustrated the diversity of opinions about the current changes that are taking place in regard to men's attitudes and behavior. All of these themes are included in the final curriculum.

C H A P T E R III

Survey Questionnaire: Design, Implementation and Results

In this chapter of my dissertation, I describe the results of the survey questionnaire which I used to obtain information about the teaching of men's studies in the United States. Although courses examining men from the perspective of gender have been taught for about ten years, there has not been a systematic attempt to collate information about them nor to understand the relationship of the various types of courses to each other or to the academic curriculum as a whole. In proposing a curriculum for a program of studies, it seemed important to begin by reviewing the work that had been done. What have men and women in the field chosen as particular topics of study and why? What suggestions would they make toward developing an integrated curriculum? The purpose of the survey was to determine the state of the art in men's studies and provide directions for future growth in the field.

From the beginning of the project, however, I was aware that the courses being taught had been inspired by a variety of motivations and that, although

respondent's answers and course descriptions would be helpful in illustrating current interests and concerns, they would not present a complete picture from which to develop a full program of studies. The development of the curriculum for this program would have to draw on the whole field of men's studies as represented by research reported in articles and books as well as on the course work already done.

The questionnaire, then, was designed with two purposes in mind. The first was to gather data on the number of men's studies courses being taught in this country and the disciplines they represented. The second was to determine the goals instructors had set for themselves in developing courses and suggestions they would make for developing a curriculum for a full program of study. These data would then function as a resource in developing the final curriculum.

Description of Questionnaire

The questionnaire was divided into four parts. The first part requested biographical data about the respondents, including their academic affiliation. The second part asked respondents to list the names of

courses they were teaching or had taught, the program or department in which they taught and the reasons which led to their developing a course in men's studies. The last question in this part requested descriptive information or brochures connected with their work.

The third part of the questionnaire was designed to obtain data that would assist me in developing a curriculum. Respondents were asked to outline the goals they would propose for a men's studies curriculum and courses or fields of study they felt would need to be included in a men's studies program.

The final part of the questionnaire was made up of questions regarding the use to which the data would be put and the interest respondents had in following the project. Question 7 asked for names of people who were teaching men's studies that I had not already contacted. To assist respondents in answering this question, I included in the mailing a list of all those to whom I had originally sent out the questionnaire. Questions 8 and 9 asked for permission to cite respondents' names and responses. Questions 10 and 11 inquired about whether they wished to receive a packet

of syllabi that would be put together as part of the project. A copy of the Questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

Development of the Questionnaire

Since no previous study of men's studies courses had been done and no information was available about the extent or type of courses being taught, the questionnaire was developed with a view to obtaining basic information about the field that would serve as a resource for developing the curriculum but also as a preliminary study that could be followed up by further research.

Since the questionnaire was designed as an information gathering instrument on a previously unresearched field, the questions were developed based on the needs of the dissertation for particular kinds of information, e.g. motivation of instructors in the field. They were reviewed by the members of my dissertation committee and Joseph Pleck who commented and made suggestions.

A pilot study was not done because the sample

population was small and did not lend itself easily to being studied twice. A pilot study would have been necessary on a similar group. Given the newness of the field, however, such a study did not seem feasible since responses regarding motivations and goals would be different for an established field than for a newly emerging one.

Selection of Survey Sample

Before sending out the questionnaire, it was necessary to select the population to whom it would be sent. There was no general listing of men's studies courses taught in the United States although a partial list had been compiled by Joseph Pleck of the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley College. I began with his list and added to it the membership list of the Men's Studies Task Group of the National Organization for Changing Men (NOCM) as well as several names chosen from the First National Catalog of Programs and Services and Resources for and about Fathers (Klinman & Kohl, 1984). A number of the names were included on more than one list so that the total number of individuals found through these sources was forty-one. After mailing out the initial set of survey

questionnaires, I began to receive additional names in response to question 7 of the questionnaire and from Joseph Pleck who regularly received notices from people teaching men's studies courses. The total number of questionnaires sent out over a period of two months was sixty-seven.

Responses to the Survey

Forty-three individuals responded to the survey, of whom thirty returned the questionnaire. Although the majority of the respondents were men, four women also returned the questionnaire or sent other material. Two of the women respondents were non-teaching Directors of Women's Studies Programs. The other two were instructors, one in women's studies and one in sociology.

The majority of the respondents were actually teaching or had taught courses in men's studies. Four respondents who did not return the questionnaire explained that they were not teaching and, therefore, felt they could not adequately respond to the questions. Several of them, however, submitted other materials, e.g. brochures and announcements for

workshops or lecture series, newspaper stories about their work with men, bibliography, etc. (See Table 1 for a description of responses.)

TABLE 1

Profile of Questionnaire Respondents

Type of Response	Number	Men	Women
Returned Questionnaire	30	27	3
Sent Syllabus	21	19	2
Sent other material	13	11	2
Responded in other ways*	2	2	0
No response	22	18	4
Survey letter returned	1	1	0
	89**	78	11

* Out of the country; deceased.
** Total number is greater than 67 because several respondents sent questionnaires, syllabi and/or other material.

A number of academic disciplines were represented by the men and women who responded to the survey. Most frequently cited were Departments of Psychology (n=6), Sociology (n=6) and Women's Studies (n=3). In the case of Women's Studies, three instructors belonging to another department taught men's studies in the Women's Studies Department. For the most part, however, instructors were teaching men's studies courses in their own departments (n=26). Table 2 analyses the department affiliation of the instructor and the department in which courses in men's studies were

taught. It also lists the level at which the course was taught.

TABLE 2

Departmental Profile of Men's Studies Courses

DEPARTMENT AFFILIATION OF INSTRUCTOR	DEPARTMENT IN WHICH COURSE WAS TAUGHT	LEVEL
Adjunct faculty - no departmental affiliation (2)*	General Studies	U***
	Women's Studies	U
Counselor Education	Counselor Education	G***
Division of Counselor Ed. and Ed. Psych.	Division of Counselor Ed. and Ed. Psych.	U
English (2)	English (2)**	U
Health Education	Health Education	U
History (2)	American Studies and History	U
	History and Inter-disciplinary Studies	U
Mathematics	Women's Studies	U
Psychology (6)	Psychology (5)	G
	Women's Studies	U
Religious Studies (2)	Religious Studies	U
	Christian Ethics	G
School of Business	School of Business	U&G
School of Education	School of Education	U
School of Social Work	School of Social Work	U
Sociology (6)	Sociology (5)	U
	Pan-African Studies and Community Education	G non-cred.

Intro.to the Study of Women and Men in Society	Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society	U
Women's Studies (3)	Women's Studies (3)	U
Unknown	History	U&G

* (n) indicates two or more courses taught in that discipline.
** (n) indicates two or more courses taught in that department.
*** U = Undergraduate course; G = Graduate course.

It was also interesting to note the diversity among the institutions in which men's studies courses were being offered. Both community and four year colleges were represented as were most of the major geographical regions of the United States (See Table 3).

TABLE 3

Institutions in which Men's Studies is taught

INSTITUTION	LOCATION	TYPE
Albion College	Albion, MI	4yr
Amherst College	Amherst, MA	4yr
Anchorage Community College	Anchorage, AK	2yr
Brooklyn College	Brooklyn, NY	4yr
California St. School of Professional Psychology	Berkeley, CA	4yr
California State University	Longbeach, CA	4yr
California State University	Hayward, CA	4yr
College of the Pacific	Stockton, CA	unk
JFK University	Orinda, CA	4yr
Lesley College	Cambridge, MA	4yr
Mankato State University	Mankato, MN	4yr
Miami Dade Community College	Miami, FL	2yr
Montana State University	Bozeman, Montana	4yr
Muskingum College	New Concord, Ohio	4yr
North Texas State University	Denton, TX	4yr

Ohio State University	Columbus, Ohio	4yr
Ohlone College	Fremont, CA	4yr
Old Dominion University	Norfolk, VA	4yr
Roane State Community College	Harriman, TN	unk
Rutgers University	New Brunswick, NJ	4yr
Siena College	Loudonville, NY	4yr
Sonoma State University	Rohnert Park, CA	4yr
Southern Connecticut State University	New Haven, CT	4yr
Temple University	Philadelphia, PA	4yr
United Theological Seminary	Dayton, Ohio	4yr
United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities	New Brighton, MN	4yr
University of California	Berkeley, CA	4yr
University of California,	Santa Cruz, CA	4yr
University of Dayton	Dayton, Ohio	4yr
University of Delaware	Newark, Del	4yr
University of Detroit	Detroit, MI	4yr
University of Massachusetts,	Amherst, MA	4yr
University of Michigan	Detroit, MI	4yr
University of North Carolina	Chapel Hill, NC	4yr
University of Oregon	Eugene, OR	4yr
University of South Florida	Tampa, FL	4yr
University of Southern California	Los Angeles, CA	4yr
Washington University	St. Louis, Mo.	4yr

The diversity of disciplines in which men's studies is being taught suggests a widespread interest in the field while the geographic diversity would seem to indicate the grassroots and national nature of the development of men's studies. Until recently, there was no national group of men's studies instructors and most people who developed courses did so independently of each other. As I shall indicate shortly, many of the teachers of men's studies began to offer these courses because of events in their personal lives which caused them to reflect on men's roles in society. As

academicians, they found it natural to investigate these events and try to understand them through the lens of their particular discipline. The result has been a proliferation of men's studies courses in diverse disciplines. This process of course generation out of a blend of personal and professional interest seems to follow the pattern for women's studies courses which also grew in much the same way (Stimpson, 1973).

Reasons for Teaching Men's Studies

The first part of the survey questionnaire, as I have noted, was developed to obtain demographic information about the teaching of men's studies courses in the United States. As an extension of this part of the questionnaire, I included Question 3 which asked, "What considerations led you to choose to teach this particular course." My sense was that the motivation of many of the instructors in men's studies was personal in that developments in their own lives had led them to think about men's studies. The responses to this question grouped themselves into four categories: courses motivated by personal experiences, by professional interests and concerns, by social concerns about men's roles and by interest in women's

studies or feminism. The information from these responses is discussed next by category and is followed by a summary of the data from this question.

Personal Motivation

Sixteen men began to teach a course in men's studies because they had personally experienced some of the gender role changes that were taking place in society. Representative of this group was a man who spoke of "my interest in the area of gender, my own divorce, my sons and their friends, women friends and relatives recounting their experiences as women, men friends recounting their experiences as men". Another man spoke of "my personal experience as a feminist oriented male, as a father and in relationships with men and women, and my belief that this area is what people (especially men) need to be educated in in order to help create more human social relationships and avoid the pains involved in the posturing roles". Another man combined personal and social concerns speaking of "my conviction about the desperate need - personally and socially - for men's liberation from destructive personal and social consequences of patriarchy, including the increase of justice for

women, gays, lesbians". Another man stated simply, " I'm a historian, male and was a single parent raising a male child".

Professional Motivation

The second source of motivation (n=13) for teaching men's studies courses arose from the professional interests and concerns of the instructors. Several mentioned the lack of a course in their particular institution as their reason for developing one. One man mentioned the "need for the social work profession to address [the] special needs of men" while another spoke of his "interest in going beyond women's history course to a course dealing with both genders at once." Another man continued this theme, commenting on the "need for a course to balance women's studies courses at the university by studying men's gender-related history and concerns." Several instructors spoke of perceived student demand for courses in men's studies. One man spoke of an increasing interest "in the question of gender as it affects technological design and as it is affected by technical design."

Social Concerns as Motivation

The third source of motivation (n=13) arose from concerns about the impact on society of men's traditional roles. One man said that his course was the "outgrowth of work with men who batter and the recognition of the inadequacy of treatment models which fail to place men within a social and political context". Another man spoke about the "desire to make my academic work more related to personal and political work" and yet another spoke of the "need to confront college level men and women about the nature and limitations of the masculine role and provide a forum for men interested in women's studies to get basic support and information".

Women's Studies as Motivation

An interest in women's studies and feminism was found in the answers of five respondents. In most instances, it was combined with other motivations. One man spoke of "the need for a course which moves beyond the stereotypes of males in modern society, the need for a course to stimulate fresh thinking about men and their roles and issues, the need for a course to explore the literary equivalent of feminist criticism".

Two of the women who responded to the questionnaire spoke of women's studies as the path by which they became interested in men's studies. One woman, who is the director of a women's studies program saw men's studies as "a necessary part of curriculum in women's studies because women's studies has raised new issues and brought new perspectives on masculinity". Another woman spoke of a "strong women's studies program which led me to feel freer to bring the issue of masculinity up to 50% of the course" while a third spoke about her "personal commitment to clarifying the link between feminism and a healthy definition of what it means to be a man". One man spoke of the need to provide a "forum for men interested in women's studies to get basic support and information" while another stated, "[I taught because of] my perceived need to have a tool to use in helping them [men] navigate the good and especially the unhealthy and unreasonable components of feminism".

Table 4 lists the motivations of the respondents by category.

TABLE 4

Respondent Motivations for Teaching Men's Studies

Type of Motivation	No. of Respondents	Men	Women
Personal	16	16	0
Professional	13	12	1
Social Concern	13	13	0
Women's Studies	5	2	3
	47	43	4

As can be seen in the Table, the motivation of instructors in men's studies were fairly evenly divided between personal, professional and social concerns with a minority motivated by interest in women's studies. This balance helps to explain the orientation of many of the courses as well as the goals instructors set for themselves and proposed in the questionnaire. For many people, the teaching of men's studies is an academic concern with personal and social overtones. Regardless of their major motivation for teaching men's studies, many instructors also manifested a common concern about the negative effects of male stereotypical behavior on men and society and expressed a desire that teaching might help to bring about change in men's understanding of themselves as well as in their behavior. There was also a consensus that courses about men and maleness should be an important part of the academic curriculum.

Goals for Men's Studies Courses

The second part of the questionnaire was intended to seek information about the goals instructors would set for a curriculum in men's studies. Two questions were asked in this section: "If you were to propose a curriculum for a men's studies program, what would be your goals for such a curriculum?" and "What courses or fields of study would you consider central to such a curriculum?"

The diversity of motivations for developing courses is replicated in the diversity of goals instructors set out for their courses. The goals noted by respondents ranged from "raising consciousness", "fostering awareness of race and class distinctions" and "support for men seeking to change" to "developing sound theoretical approaches to research issues based in feminist theory" and "examining and discussing how male gender socialization influences men theoretically and experientially".

The goals generally fell into two categories which were not mutually exclusive. One group of respondents emphasized the need for a strong theoretical base from which to examine men's roles in society while the second group stressed the

experiential aspect of men's studies. For this second group, changed understanding and changed behavior were important goals of the teaching. These two sets of goals seem to be indicative of the approach to men's studies in general. Similar to disciplines such as education, nursing and counseling, teachers of men's studies reported the desire to deal with learning on a experiential as well as a theoretical level. One respondent addressed this aspect of men's studies by stating that the "structure and process of student teacher interaction [should] be non-traditional".

Although there was some diversity of approach in terms of classroom orientation and teaching method, there was common agreement on the issues needing to be addressed in men's studies courses. The study of male behavior and male psychology as well as the historical origins of our current concept of masculinity were prominent topics. The effect of male dominance on men and society was a topic that was suggested often as was the general question of the relationship of oppression to the male role. In addition, emphasis was given to the effect of race and class distinctions on men's socialization and the access to power of oppressed minorities. There was fairly common agreement that the male role as prescribed by our society is harmful to men's health, both emotional and physical, as well as to

society's well-being. In general, the goals submitted by the respondents represented an attempt to understand the history and meaning of maleness for individual men and society and to seek out ways of changing stereotypical male roles so that both men and society can be more healthy. (See Appendix B for a complete listing of the responses to Question 5.)

Suggested Fields of Study

As a complement to the question about goals, Question 6 of the survey questionnaire asked respondents to name courses or fields of study they felt should be included in a men's studies program. Once again, the responses were diverse, reflecting the particular interest and viewpoint of the respondent. Overall, the responses covered the range of subjects in the humanities, the arts and the sciences. Core disciplines such as psychology, sociology, history, literature and counseling were represented along with less traditional disciplines such as Afro-American Studies and Latino Studies. A number of other disciplines were also represented which, at first glance, seem not to be related to men's studies. These included physiology, social philosophy, pre-medicine, political science, economics, labor studies and others. One respondent remarked, "All

disciplines should be represented."

In addition to specific disciplines, many respondents suggested particular fields of study. Included in this list were the study of gender roles, sexuality, men and sports, the military and violence, homophobia, feminist theory and Marxist economic theory. Also suggested was the need for cross-cultural and interdisciplinary studies. The following table lists the fields of study suggested by the respondents.

TABLE 5

SUGGESTED FIELDS OF STUDY

Field of Study	Sub-sets of Field
Anthropology 4*	
Archaeology 1	
Biology 2	
Comparative racial and ethnic perspectives 5	Afro-American Studies 1 Oriental/Latino Studies 1 Black Studies 1 Cross-cultural masculinity 1
Counseling 1	Counseling men 1
Custody and Divorce Issues 1	
Economics 4	Marxist economic theory 1
Education 5	Behaviorism and Learning 1 Human Relations 2 (experiential courses) Psychological Education 1
Feminist Theory 3	Particularly re: family 1 Women's issues 1
History 8	Ancient and Modern (including feminist revisionism) 1 Historical sense informed by cultural theory 1 History of Masculinity 1

Homosexuality 4	Gay Liberation 1
	Homophobia 1
	The Gay experience 1
Humanities in general 1	Art 1
	Music 1
Introduction to Men's Studies 2	The Men's Movement? 1
Labor Studies 1	
Life cycle and Aging 1	
Literature 7	Ancient and Modern 1
	English 1
	Literary Studies 1
	Men and Women in Literature 1
	Masculinity as theme in American Literature 1
	Poetry 1
Male Health 3	The Hazards of Being Male 1
Male sex roles 4	Growing Up Male - emphasis on schools and sports 1
	Psychological, Sociological and Anthropological perspectives 1
Male Sexuality 4	Psychology of sexuality 1
	Sexuality and intimacy 1
Media and Communication 1	
Men and Love 1	
Men and Parenting 1	
Men and the Military 1	Military technology 1
Men's Culture 2	Men and sports 1
Men's History 1	
Men's Work 2	Class and race differences 1
	Men, work and success 1
Philosophy 3	Social Philosophy 1
Physiology 1	
Political Science 3	Political and ethical theories of oppression (special emphasis on feminist theory) 1
	Institutional Forms and Structures 1
Popular Culture 1	Cinema 1
Power, Violence and Masculinity 3	Family Violence 1
	Gender and Power 1
Professional Programs 2	Law, medicine, teaching and business 1
Psychological/linguistic perspective on maleness 1	
Psychology 15	Individual and social 4

Personality 1
Developmental 1
Psychology of women 1
Psychology of men 1
Experimental psychology 1
Objects Relation theory 1

Religion 3
Science 1
Sex Roles 1
Sociology 10
Statistics 1

Sociology of Gender Roles 1

* indicates number of respondents suggesting the field or topic

It is interesting to note the large number of disciplines and fields of study proposed by the respondents because they far outnumber the actual number of disciplines and fields represented by courses already being taught. This fact seems indicative of the fact that men's studies is a developing field with its profile not yet fully defined. It also seems to indicate that because men's studies is more a way of viewing reality than a defined disciplinary content, all fields of study can be seen as part of its purview.

Men's Studies Course Titles

In addition to the questionnaires, I also collected a number of course syllabi in men's studies. Some of these were sent to me by the respondents to the questionnaire, whether they returned the questionnaire or not. Others were

sent to me by Joseph Pleck. Because the provenance of the syllabi was not uniform, the background information about each one was also not uniform. In some instances, I was able to ascertain the department in which the course was taught as well as the teaching level. In other instances, I had merely a syllabus with the name of the instructor and the college or university. Nonetheless, I felt a listing of the courses titles would be useful because they give a concrete indication of the interests of the people who are active in the field. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6

Men's Studies Course Titles and Departments

Course Title	Department in which taught	Level
The American Male	Women's Studies	U
American Men's Lives, since 1976	English	U
Black Men in America, 1980-1982	Pan-African Studies & Community Ed.	G non-cred
Corporate Wellness and Individual Advancement	School of Business	G & U
The Emerging Male	English	U
The Experience and Politics of Being Male in America	unk	unk
Feminist Perspectives on Men	Women's Studies	G & U
A History of Masculinity, 1975-1980	History and Inter-disciplinary St.	U

Human Sexuality	Psychology	unk
Husbands and Wives: American since 1800	American Studies & History	U
Introduction to Psychology	Psychology	unk
Introduction to the Study of Women and Men in Society	Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society	U
Male Awareness and Growth	Sociology	G & U
Male Sexuality	Health Education	U
Masculinity and Sex Roles	Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society	U
Masculinity in the 80's Crisis, Reaction and Growth	General Studies	U
Masculinity: Crisis, Reaction and Growth	Women's Studies	U
Men and Masculinity (5)	Women's Studies (2) School of Education Program for the Study of Women and Men in Society	U U U
Men and Masculinity: The Male Sex Role	School of Social Sciences	U
Men and Sexism	Women's Studies	U
Men and War	School of Social Sciences	U
Men in Society	Sociology	U
Men's Changing Roles/ Implications for Social Work	Social Work	U
Men's Studies	Sociology	U

Modern Men: Images and Reality	English	U
Office Politics	School of Business	G & U
Perspectives for Men	Psychology	U
Psychology of Male Roles	Psychology	U
The Psychology of Masculinity	Psychology	U
Psychology of Men (3)	Division of Counsel. & Ed. Psychology Psychology (2)	U G
Religion and Social Issues: The Theology and Ethics of Men's Liberation	Religious Studies	U
Sex Roles	Sociology	U
Social Control of Male Sexuality	Sociology	U
Sex, Race and Age Discrimination	School of Business	G & U
Social Factors in Male Personality	Sociology	U
Sociology of Men and Masculinity	Sociology	U
Sociology of the Male Experience	Sociology	U
Technology USA Style: Masculine-Feminine Imbalances	History	G & U
Theology and Ethics for Men's Liberation	Christian Ethics	G
Therapy With Men	Counselor/Education	G
Today's Changing Man	Psychology	G

Conclusion

The wide diversity of topics that respondents included in their list of goals and curriculum suggestions might give the impression that men's studies is the equivalent of the total academic curriculum and therefore not truly distinct from university studies as presently constituted. This impression arises from the fact that it is not the content of men's studies courses that distinguishes them from courses in other disciplines so much as the perspective from which one approaches the content. Men, as subjects of study have been part of the university curriculum for centuries. Gender, as a particular perspective for viewing men, is relatively new. It is this perspective which distinguishes men's studies and unites the seemingly incongruent diversity of topics. As Langland and Gove comment in A Feminist Perspective in the Academy, "[Gender studies] is a body of knowledge that is perspective transforming and should therefore transform the existing curriculum from within and revise received notions of what constitutes an 'objective' or 'normative' perspective (1981, p. 4). It is this understanding of the importance of gender that underlies and unifies the field of men's studies.

While the responses to the questionnaire were fairly diverse, they did indicate some common directions for developing a curriculum for a complete program of studies. Respondents were consistent in their view that courses in men's studies need to draw on the resources of many disciplines. The integration of these disciplines can be done in a variety of ways but the particular contribution of each discipline is to be seen through the lens of gender.

The teaching approach suggested was one which integrates both a solid theoretical base as well as experiential applications. Again, there was a consensus that for a men's studies program to be adequate, it would need to draw on and expand the research on men as well as change the attitudes of the students who take the courses.

Responses to the questionnaire also indicated that a major focus of the curriculum would need to be the impact of male socialization on men's attitudes and behavior. This focus would include concern for men's physical and emotional health, interpersonal relationships, and family and work relationships. It was also indicated that the curriculum would need to be concerned with the social history of masculinity as it helps to explain many of our contemporary

attitudes. Social concerns also appear to be an essential element in developing a program and respondents suggest that various courses would consider the impact of men's roles and behavior on all classes in society. In particular, the suggestion was made that attention be paid to the power which men wield in society, both in an overt and covert way.

It is noteworthy that the goals and curriculum suggestions made by the respondents were more diverse and wide ranging than were the actual courses that are being taught. This disparity, as I have mentioned, may well reflect the newness of the field and the particular stage of development that it is undergoing.

Responses to the questionnaire, in general, indicated that the respondents considered men's studies an integral part of the total academic curriculum. Although they differed in their emphases as to content and teaching method, they were agreed on its importance in the academic curriculum and its relevance to all branches of study.

C H A P T E R I V

Curriculum Goals and Objectives

In this chapter, the goals and objectives for a curriculum in men's studies are outlined. They have been derived from two sources: the review of the literature in Chapter II and the survey questionnaire that was analysed in Chapter III. Several themes emerged from those chapters, including the influence of our concept of gender in determining men's psychological development, social roles and behavior, the impact of social institutions on the process of male socialization and the importance of historical and sociological studies for understanding our contemporary image of men. Men's personal lives and social relationships, particularly their relationships with oppressed groups, was also an important theme as was the process of change and the ways in which men's attitudes and roles are changing in the contemporary world.

The curriculum presents a range of research and opinion about men but the focus is the impact of

maleness on men's psychological development and behavior. It rests on the assumption that masculinity is a social construct which needs to be redefined as society changes and individuals experience their lives and relationships in different ways.

The Influence of Gender in the Academic Curriculum

Men's studies, as stated in Chapter I of this dissertation, is a study of men through the lens of gender. The element which distinguishes it from other academic disciplines is not men as "content", for men are often the "content" in other fields of study, but rather the fact that it considers "maleness" the governing principle to be taken into account in studying men's psychology and behavior. It could be stated that the content of men's studies courses is the perspective from which they view reality.

Men's studies is a departure from the norm in the academic curriculum because, traditionally, academic studies have been considered "gender neutral" in that human nature was thought to be studied without regard to the masculinity or femininity of the subject. Gender, as a characteristic of human beings, was not

thought of as a dependent variable. That view has changed, however, as women's studies scholars have looked more closely at the ways in which gender bias operates in our society and in the university (Harding, 1983; Keller, 1983; Shapiro,1981; Spender, 1981).

> The sex/gender system appears to be a fundamental variable organizing social life throughout most of recorded history and in every culture today (underlining mine). Like racism and classism, it is an organic variable - it is not merely an "effect" of other, more primary, causes. Of course, the sex/gender system is expressed in differing intensities and forms in different cultures and classes. Men's and women's "natures" and relative abilities to determine their own social, economic and political lives appear very different if one looks from matrilineal to patrilineal societies, from pre-capitalist to capitalist formations, from aristocratic to democratic cultures, and, of course, from wealthy to poverty level and from white to black lives in America today (Harding, 1983, p. 312).

One result of this new analysis has been the realization by women's studies scholars that the concept of gender neutral studies is a myth and that such studies are, in fact, done from a male perspective or bias.

> Most of the knowledge produced in our society has been produced by men; they have usually generated the explanations and the schemata and have then checked with each other and vouched for the accuracy of their view of the world. They have created men's studies (the academic curriculum), for, by not acknowledging that they are presenting only the explanations of men, they have 'passed off' this knowledge as human knowledge (Spender, 1981, p.1).

> Male experiences and the perspectives that derive from them have traditionally defined the normative in the academic curriculum; female experience, when it has appeared at all, has been treated as inferior, irrelevant, insignificant, or even aberrant (Langland and Gove, 1981, p. 4).

The impact of gender bias on the academic curriculum has been studied mainly by women's studies scholars (Bowles & Duelli- Klein, 1983b) because it was they who first perceived the imbalance. In pursuing their research, however, they came to realize that not only women had received short shrift in the curriculum but that men themselves could not be truly understood in the current context.

> We cannot understand women and their lives by adding facts about them to bodies of knowledge which take men, their lives and their beliefs, as the human norm. Furthermore, it is now evident that if women's lives cannot be understood within the inherited inquiry frameworks, then neither can men's lives (underlining mine). The attempts to add understandings of women to our knowledge of nature and social life have led to the realization that there is precious little reliable knowledge to which to add them. A more fundamental project now confronts us. We must root out sexist distortions and perversions in epistemology, metaphysics, methodology and the philosophy of science - in the "hard core" of abstract reasoning thought most immune to infiltration by social values (Harding & Hintikka, 1983, p. ix).

This recognition that neither men nor women can be fully understood in the present context of academic research has even led some scholars to consider the

development of gender studies as a field which can encompass both women's and men's studies. (Bowles & Duelli-Klein, 1983a; Brod, 1983; Davidson & Gordon, 1979; Harding & Hintikka, 1983; Kessler & McKenna, 1978; Langland & Gove, 1981; Shapiro, 1981; Spender, 1981). Brod comments on this evolution in an article entitled, "The New Men's Studies: from feminist theory to gender scholarship".

> Those attempting to re-create a unified theory of feminist studies consequently found themselves stranded between Scylla and Charybdis. The sex role model seemed too fragmenting, yet the most common essentialist framework available entailed a return to a naturalistic biologism most were unwilling to accept....It is precisely at this juncture that the concept of "gender studies" arose. To speak of gender, all came to agree, was to speak of a cultural formation on a biological base, without any prior commitment as to how much was base and how much was cultural formation....the concept of gender studies is more than simply a pragmatic solution to political differences. There is a deeper reason for the new terminology of "gender studies", and it is here that trends favoring the development of gender and men's studies converge.
>
> Whether one believes that one is speaking of human nature or of social roles, the basic claim of gender studies is that the concept of gender must be a fundamental category of all social research, fundamental in the literal sense of "foundational" or "grounding". Gender studies insists that its subject is not simply compensatory or additive knowledge about women, but a fundamental revision of <u>all</u> canons of knowledge to take account of a genderized world, even those areas of knowledge previously thought to be gender neutral (Brod, 1983, p. 11).

To suggest, then, that we take gender into account in our study of men means that our understanding of men and male behavior will differ radically from that presented in the traditional curriculum because men's studies, as women's studies before it, operates from a different perspective than that of more traditional academic subjects. It raises society's hidden assumptions regarding gender to the level of conscious awareness so that they now function as explicit premises for further study.

As Langland and Gove comment in A Feminist Perspective in the Academy, "[Gender studies] is a body of knowledge that is perspective transforming and should therefore transform the existing curriculum from within and revise received notions of what constitutes an 'objective' or 'normative' perspective" (1981, p. 4). As such, it fits into the general pattern of educational curriculum for "education is a process of changing the behavior patterns of people. This is using behavior in the broad sense to include thinking and feeling as well as overt action." (Tyler, 1950, p.1).

These comments on gender studies are important for

a full understanding of the function of men's studies in the curriculum. They should not be construed, however, as an indication that the development of gender studies should supersede that of men's studies. At the present time, it is this author's position there are practical as well as theoretical considerations which favor women's studies and men's studies continuing as separate but related fields of study in the university. Understandably women's studies programs are wary of an alliance with men's studies since, historically, men have arrogated power to themselves in such situations. At the same time, men's studies is a fledgling field which needs to develop its own character before joining with women's studies in a joint venture. At some future time, an alliance of the two will undoubtedly be helpful to both.

Curriculum Goals

The proposed men's studies curriculum has three goals: to define maleness and its allied concept, masculinity, through the disciplines of psychology, history, sociology and other social sciences, to understand the evolution of male roles in society and to foster a changed awareness in students of the impact

of gender roles and particularly male roles on their lives and on society.

Maleness is an innate characteristic of men whereas masculinity is a culturally defined characteristic (Brake, 1976; Davidson & Gordon, 1979; Kessler & McKenna, 1978) that has evolved through historical periods (Brenton, 1966; Degler, 1981; Ferguson, 1966; Stearns, 1979). The first goal of the curriculum is to explore and understand the varied characteristics that have been attributed to men and the relationship of these characteristics to maleness and to the societies in which they developed. An understanding of the historical and cultural variability of maleness is essential for two reasons. If an adequate psychology of men is to be developed, researchers must be able to distinguish the aspects of masculinity that are subject to change from those that seem inherent to men as such. In addition, the ability of men to change and break out of their roles depends on whether or not these roles are based on innate characteristics or acquired ones.

Since biological distinctions have often been the justification for male role assignments (Goldberg, 1973; Holiday, 1979; Hutt, 1972; Maccoby, 1966; Maccoby

& Jacklin, 1974; May, 1980; Ong, 1981; Pleck, 1982; Terman and Miles, 1936; Tiger, 1969; Tooley, 1977) an understanding of the interplay between biological and environmental factors in gender attribution is also part of this goal.

The second goal of the curriculum is to understand the ways in which notions of masculinity have influenced the evolution of male roles for it is society's understanding of gender roles that has guided its assignment of these roles to men and women. It is only recently, however, that sociologists, anthropologists and other social scientists have begun to study men's roles from this viewpoint (Bell, 1982; Bucher, 1976; Cater and Scott, 1975; Doyle, 1983; Ebony, 1983; Ehrenreich, 1983; Fasteau, 1974; Harrison, 1978; Hartley, 1959; Gilder, 1973; Goldberg, 1976 & 1979; Journal of Social Sciences, 1978; Julty, 1979; Kaye, 1974; Lewis, 1981b; Nichols, 1975; Pleck, 1976a; Rochlin, 1980; Shapiro & Shapiro, 1979; Snodgrass, 1977, Staples, 1978; Tavris & Offir, 1977). David and Brannon, writing in 1976, commented "that the male sex role has been able to elude scientific study - or even notice - because, rather than in spite of, its enormous and pervasive influence on the knowledge, thoughts,

attitudes, and assumptions of every person who has grown up under its influence (p. 2). They explain this phenomenon by citing the adage, "The fish will be the last to discover the ocean".

This goal is important as well because men's role's have wide implications for society at large. Women's roles, for example, have generally been construed as complementary to men's roles; any change in the roles men play will consequently have an effect on women and their roles as well. There is also a close correlation in society between the roles assigned to people and the power they exercise in social affairs (Elkin, 1946; Pleck, 1977; Shatan, 1977; Stockard & Johnson, 1979; Winter, 1977). A study of men's roles, then, will include a study of the distribution of power in society as well as a consideration of the power allowed women, children and men belonging to oppressed social classes. Recently, some men have begun to express dissatisfaction with the roles they have been acculturated to play in society. This phenomenon is also studied as well as the new possibilities that are beginning to be available to men who wish to take on non-traditional roles.

Finally, the third curriculum goal is to raise students' awareness about the impact of gender roles on their lives and society, in general, so that they can begin to make more informed choices about their own lives and work.

The goals of the curriculum, then, are to investigate and elucidate the meanings of maleness and masculinity, to understand the assignment of men's social roles as it has been influenced by notions of gender and to raise awareness about the impact of gender roles on individuals and society.

Curriculum Objectives

In general, curriculum objectives are constructed keeping in mind both the body of knowledge that needs to be handed on (tradition) and the particular needs of the students (Taba, 1962; Tyler, 1950). Oftentimes, in curriculum development, there is a conflict between meeting student need and the need to pass on the tradition. In men's studies, this dilemma exists in a somewhat different form for the body of literature that constitutes the major resource for the field has grown out of men's desire to better understand themselves and

their behavior and represents the newly emerging paradigm of masculinity discussed in Chapter II. It is, in some senses, a new tradition. The dilemma, then, in terms of choosing material for a curriculum, is between what one might call the new understanding of men and masculinity and the traditional view and can best be characterized as a clash of traditions.

Curriculum objectives, if they are to be useful to the instructor, must clearly define the change they envisage in the student, whether it be in understanding or behavior, as well as the content area in which they envisage that change (Taba, 1962; Tyler, 1950). Objectives in men's studies envisage changes in understanding and in behavior. As I remarked in the chapter on the survey questionnaire, instructors in the field of men's studies generally took two approaches in teaching a course. They taught from a research oriented perspective whose focus was on understanding male psychology and behavior or from a more experientially oriented perspective whose focus was on bringing about awareness and behavioral change in the students. These two approaches were not mutually exclusive and several courses incorporated both of them. The curriculum objectives, as I outline them,

allow for both approaches to be used in developing courses.

Each area of concentration developed in Chapter V has a set of objectives specific to that particular topic. The curriculum, as a whole, requires that students be able to attain the following general objectives.

1. Be able to define the meaning of maleness as a distinguishing characteristic of men: To attain this objective requires that students investigate and understand the relationship of biology to environment in the psychological development of men. It also requires them to formulate criteria for distinguishing innate characteristics from acquired ones in their investigation of men's psychology and behavior. This objective is distinguished from the following one in that it is more theoretical in nature, dealing with the meaning of maleness, while the following objective deals with the social manifestations of maleness.

2. Be able to define and describe the notion of masculinity as a social construct: To attain this objective requires that students be familiar with the

bases of gender attribution in our society and the ways in which the attribution of male gender traits is determined by social rather than individual needs. Researchers in the field of psychology, sociology and anthropology have investigated the evolution of the concept of maleness and, although their conclusions are not always in agreement, their work needs to be analyzed and understood for the light it casts on the process of gender attribution.

This objective also requires that students be able to recognize the ways in which masculinity is understood differently by men in different social and economic classes. Attainment of this goal could also require that students use their knowledge of the concept of masculinity to analyse its influence on the choices regarding gender roles that they have made in their own lives

3. Be able to trace the development of men's studies as a field of study and define its function in the academic curriculum: Because men's studies is a new field, it is important for students to understand the assumptions on which it is founded and it relevance to other fields of study. To attain this objective

requires that students be familiar with the philosophical premises on which men's studies is based and be able to explain them. They will also be required to identify the important events in the historical development of the field, describe the relationship of men's studies to other academic disciplines and discern the effects of male bias on their learning in other disciplines.

4. Be able to describe the historical evolution of the notion of masculinity and the male role. The ability to think historically is an important skill for students to acquire in general. To demonstrate attainment of this objective, students will need to apply this skill to showing how particular prescriptions for masculine behavior have evolved from the social contexts of different historical periods. They will also be required to trace the evolution of these ideas of masculinity. Finally, the realization of this objective requires students to describe their own historical period with its particular notions of masculinity, recognizing those that are a heritage from the past and those that are new.

5. Be able to define the function of social roles

and identify the influence of the concept of masculinity in assigning men's roles: Social roles play an important part in structuring society and allowing it to function in an efficient way. To attain this objective requires that students be able to define this function and describe the ways in which notions of masculinity determine male role assignment. They will also be able to discuss the role of social institutions such as the family, the school, the military, the government and the workplace in the socialization process. Students will be able to critique their own lives in the light of their knowledge of social roles and the process by which they have been acquired.

6. To be aware of the impact of the male role on society: To attain this goal requires that students be able to describe the hierarchical structure of society and the distribution of power according to that hierarchy. Men's roles determine the roles of other social groups because men have power and, consciously or not, determine the roles other groups play by controlling access to power. Students will also be able to discuss their own experience of power or lack of power associated with different social roles and membership in different social groups.

7. Be able to describe the nature of the changes that are happening to men's roles in contemporary society: Students will be able to identify the personal and social motivations that prompted the men's movement in its various manifestations as well as the other cultural changes of the last two decades that contributed to men's sense of a need for change. They will also be able to critique theories of male psychological development and the revised viewpoints on that development currently being discussed. Students will also evaluate the changes in their perception of their own roles or behavior that has occurred as they have studied the male role.

8. Be able to describe the harmful effects of certain aspects of the male role on men's physical and psychological health: The male role is a complex set of prescriptions which has served men well in some regards but has been detrimental to their health in others. Students will be able to describe the interrelatedness of physical and emotional health in people and the relationship of male role expectations to stress. In addition, they will be able to examine their own role functioning or that of men they know and evaluate in

what ways fulfilling it has been detrimental to their physical or emotional health.

9. Be able to identify and value the positive aspects of the male role: The current critique of men and the male role has sometimes portrayed men in a negative fashion. This portrayal is unwarranted since many aspects of men's functioning are positive and productive. Students will be able to identify these positive aspects and describe their value. Ideally, the attainment of this objective would stimulate students to work to create more positive roles for men and women.

Men's Studies in the Academic Curriculum

For the curriculum in men's studies to implement its goals and objectives, it needs to have a clearly defined place in the university. Presently, courses in men's studies are taught in various academic disciplines, under the aegis of various departments. Their status is peripheral and, although they are called "men's studies" courses, they are, in fact, courses in sociology or history or literature which treat of men. In developing a curriculum for men's

studies, the question needs to be asked: How does a program in men's studies fit into the university curriculum as a whole? Should it be an academic discipline with a separate department or should it be a special program which draws on the resources of many departments? This question cannot be answered simply in terms of the internal consistency of men's studies or its claim to be an autonomous discipline. It must be seen historically and politically as well. The history of women's studies departments will be a useful model (Stimpson, 1973; Farley, 1974; Watson, 1976; Westkott, 1983).

Historically, academic disciplines have grown in seemingly organic ways. The original disciplines were defined in the Medieval university and this division of knowledge furnished the basis for later development. As modern science evolved in the 18th and 19th centuries and as the social sciences were born in the latter decades of the 19th century, the original divisions were expanded to make room for new "disciplines". In the past several decades, we have seen science, particularly, become even more specialized so that the notion of discipline, itself, is often loosely equated with specialty or sub-

specialty of a particular science.

At the same time, new disciplines were not always accepted immediately. The introduction of the social sciences in the latter part of the 19th century, for example, was a response to the social movements of the time and was greeted with scepticism by the more traditional and established disciplines (Bowles, 1983). Thomas Kuhn (1962) suggests that the emergence of new disciplines is sometimes connected with the emergence of new paradigms and I think his suggestions, originally developed in relation to science, have a bearing on men's studies.

> When, in the development of a natural science, an individual or group first produces a synthesis able to attract most of the next generation's practitioners, the older schools gradually disappear. In part their disappearance is caused by their members' conversion to the new paradigm....As these indications hint, it is sometimes just its reception of a paradigm that transforms a group previously interested merely in the study of nature into a profession or, at least, a discipline. In the sciences, the formation of specialized journals, the foundation of specialists' societies, and the claim for a special place in the curriculum have usually been associated with a group's first reception of a single paradigm (Kuhn, 1962, p. 18-19).

As we saw earlier, the basis for men's studies is the emergence of a new paradigm for understanding men and the male role. Does that mean that men's studies

can therefore be called a discipline? I think not yet. Again, following Kuhn, I think that it is too early in its development to see it as a discipline. The paradigm is not fully articulated nor does it have a consistent body of adherents (Kuhn, 1962). As the field grows, and as it gains a better sense of its own identity, I think it will be sufficiently coherent to be called an academic discipline.

The second question that needs to be answered in terms of the place of men's studies in the curriculum is that of method of inquiry. Method of inquiry has sometimes been considered a way of distinguishing between disciplines in that a particular discipline was seen to have its own method of inquiry. This is not necessarily true.

> Nor do disciplines consist of knowledge gained through different methodologies. Most methodologies in social science and the humanities - statistical techniques, content analysis, case studies, archival research, textual criticism - are shared by many disciplines. There is no discipline built around multiple regression, for example, or around the use of questionnaires. Most people who have seriously asked the question describe disciplines as different <u>systems</u> of thought, including concepts, theories, methods and other elements (Coyner, 1983, p. 48).

Men's studies, then, uses methods of inquiry which are common to other disciplines and appropriate to its

own particular needs.

The most common approach in studies of this sort has been an "interdisciplinary" or "cross disciplinary" one whereby the perspectives of several disciplines are brought to bear on a single subject. These terms are often used somewhat loosely with the assumption that they imply bringing an array of resources to bear on a single issue so that a new understanding emerges. Since the terms are pertinent to my study, it is important to draw some clear distinctions between them and add two others which are similar.

L. Richard Meeth in an article entitled "Interdisciplinary Studies: a matter of definition" (1978) distinguishes four approaches: cross disciplinary, multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary. Cross disciplinary courses, he defines as "viewing or observing one discipline from the perspective of another: Describing the physics of music or the politics of literature". Multidisciplinary, he considers a level higher because it involves several disciplines focused on a single problem or issue. Many traditional courses in western civilization, for example, use this approach. Each

discipline contributes its own knowledge or approach but there is no attempt to integrate or interrelate the ideas. Interdisciplinary courses make this attempt. They not only use the perspective of several disciplines but they integrate them to gain new insight. The highest level of integrated study, Meeth calls transdisciplinary.

> Transdisciplinary means beyond the disciplines. Whereas interdisciplinary programs start with the disciplines, transdisciplinary programs start with the issue or problem and, through the processes of problem solving, bring to bear the knowledge of those disciplines that contributes to a solution or resolution (Meeth, 1978, p. 10).

Meeth's distinctions are useful and his suggestion of a transdisciplinary approach may be a fruitful option to pursue in terms of organizing men's studies courses. Such an approach would allow for the use of many different disciplines in investigating the notion of maleness or the evolution of masculinity, for example, without sacrificing the uniqueness of men's studies as a particular perspective from which to view men.

In Chapter V, I outline areas of concentration which would lead to the attainment of the goals and objectives outlined in this chapter. These areas also

illustrate the integration of various disciplines in teaching a particular course.

C H A P T E R V

A Curriculum in Men's Studies

The curriculum in men's studies is unique in that it is charting hitherto unexplored waters. Women's studies and individual courses in men's studies have pointed out some directions to follow which have been most useful. Nonetheless, there are many questions still to be answered and the curriculum, as it is implemented, will undoubtedly raise even more. The curriculum is largely an exploration of the social construct of masculinity which has dominated Western thinking for the past several hundred years. In exploring the concept, it is important to keep in mind the distinction which I made in Chapter IV between maleness and masculinity. I use maleness to denote that aspect of men's psychobiology which makes them distinct as human beings. I use masculinity to denote the cultural manifestations of maleness since it only exists in cultural contexts. This usage, which I have adopted for the sake of clarity, is by no means reflective of generally accepted usage.

In attempting to delineate the curriculum, I also realized that, in its choice of topics and subject

divisions, it sometimes reflects a cultural bias. I recognize this difficulty and hope that, as instructors implement it, they will draw on resources from other countries and from a wide range of social classes. The study of men is a vast undertaking. I have given it form through the use of maleness as the category of reference for teaching and learning. Nonetheless, the scope of possible topics remain wide. This breadth of application can be an advantage if it allows men's studies to be integrated into other fields of interest and courses of study as relevant learning.

In this chapter, I develop the curriculum for a program in men studies. Rather than proposing individual courses, however, I develop areas of concentration which correspond to the goals and objectives outlined in Chapter IV. These areas are be organized topically and each area is capable of being further defined into courses by discipline. For each area of concentration, I present a general title, a description of goals, a set of objectives to be attained and a resource section that includes topics to be covered as well as bibliographic references.

The curriculum is divided into three sections.

The first includes the areas of concentration called "The Concept of Maleness", "Men's Studies - its history and development", and "Masculinity in an Historical Perspective". The ideas presented in this section are basic to understanding later sections of the curriculum and courses developed from these areas of concentration would function as introductory courses to be taken in the early part of a program.

The second section expands upon these concepts, applying them to the social sciences. It includes two areas of concentration, "The Psychological Foundations of the Notion of Masculinity" and "The Male Role in Society."

The third section includes selected topics important to men's studies: "Oppressed Racial Minorities", "Men and Work", "The Homosexual Tradition", "Men and Change", "Men and Maleness Portrayed in Literature", "Men's Health and Sexuality" and "Men and Aggression". Courses developed from these areas of concentration would be optional depending on student and instructor interest. I have chosen these particular topics based on the survey data and the literature review. Other themes can be developed as

the need for them arises. (See Chart 1 for outline of areas.)

TABLE 7

AREAS OF CONCENTRATION

SECTION I - Introductory Areas of Concentration

The Concept of Maleness
Men's Studies - its history and development
Masculinity in an Historical Perspective

SECTION II - Applications to the Social Sciences

The Psychological Foundations of the Notion of Masculinity
The Male Role in Society

SECTION III - Selected Topic Areas

Oppressed Racial Minorities
Men and Work

The Homosexual Tradition

Men and Change

Men and Maleness Portrayed in Literature

Men's Health and Sexuality

Men and Aggression

The curriculum is proposed as a full program in men's studies, the equivalent of a major in an academic field. It can be adapted, however, for other academic applications. Students, for example, who wish to have an understanding of men's studies but do not wish to make it their area of concentration, could develop a minor using selected courses from each section. A student in sociology, for example, might choose courses from The Concept of Maleness, Maleness in an Historical Perspective, The Male Role in Society and The Psychological Foundations of the Notion of Masculinity as a base and add selected topical courses as needed. By the same token, courses developed from the above areas can be constructed as independent courses to be taken as social science electives in a another major. Since it is unlikely that men's studies will soon become a major on most college campuses, these latter methods of implementation will most likely be the most common application of this dissertation for the

immediate future.

The curriculum is proposed without distinction between undergraduate and graduate material since the goals and objectives of Chapter IV and the areas of concentration of this chapter can be implemented on either level by selecting resources appropriate to the level desired and requiring a research component as well as demonstrated mastery of the material for higher levels.

SECTION I

Introductory Areas of Concentration

The Concept of Maleness

Maleness, as a trait of human beings, refers to those characteristics which are unique to men and which cause them to be seen as different from women, in particular, but also from children. It contains characteristics that are both physical and psychological, innate to men by nature and socially prescribed. Since these traits differ from society to society and from culture to culture, this area of

concentration draws upon the resources of psychology, sociology, and anthropology in its attempts to determine the varied meanings of maleness. The goal of this portion of the curriculum is to understand the ways in which a society develops its concept of maleness, the social processes by which gender traits are attributed to men and women and the function of biology in allocating gender traits.

Objectives for "The concept of maleness"

a. Be able to define and describe the characteristics of the term "maleness" as it is used in psychological, sociological and anthropological literature. Be able to distinguish between the diverse approaches of each discipline to a definition of maleness and explain how the approaches of the various disciplines complement each other. Be able to distinguish the various currents of thought in each discipline which do not always agree, e.g. psychoanalytic theory does not approach the notion of maleness in the same way as does social psychology.

b. Be able to define the extent to which maleness is determined by biological traits as opposed to environmental factors. To attain this objective requires a comparison of the findings of psychology, anthropology and sociology about maleness and the manifestations of maleness in society. Since this debate has yet to be settled, this objective requires that students be able to discuss and critique the various viewpoints and present a defensible synthesis.

c. Be able to define what is meant by the term "gender as a social construct". Since "maleness" is not understood univocally in all cultures, a strong presumption can be made that the specific meaning of "maleness" is "constructed" by a society to meet its particular needs. An ability to describe the processes of gender attribution in society, therefore, is an essential objective of this area of concentration.

d. Be able to discuss the thesis that knowledge is "socially constructed". This objective is an extension of the previous one allowing the

students to place the study of maleness in the larger context of the sociology of knowledge.

Resources for "The Concept of Maleness"

The first task of the instructor in this area of concentration is to explore and define the concept of maleness. Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach (Kessler & McKenna, 1978) explores the relativity of male gender traits from sociological and anthropological perspectives while also dealing with the philosophical question of the meaning of reality. The Social Construction of Reality (Berger & Luckman, 1967), an essay in the sociology of knowledge, provides a basis for discussing maleness in a broader philosophical context while Kuhn's work (1962) on scientific paradigms and Keller's analysis of the relationship between gender and science explore our current understanding of the masculine/feminine dichotomy as a paradigm governing the attribution of gender traits. Pleck's (1982) discussion of the paradigms which define male behavior and Ong's (1981) philosophical discussion of maleness both provide useful resources for this section and Schaef (1981) defines many characteristics of the traditional

paradigm in her analysis of "the white male system".

Shapiro (1981), an anthropologist, and Spence, a psychologist, (1981) each, from the perspective of her own discipline, deal with society's underlying assumptions that make possible the attribution of gender traits as we currently understand them. Boulding (1976) suggests that this phenomenon of dichotomous gender attribution be studied under the rubric of "dimorphics." The Sociology of Gender (Davidson & Gordon, 1979) also pursues this theme, remaining within the realm of sociology more consistently and oriented to a contemporary cross-cultural perspective rather than an historical and anthropological one.

On a more concrete level, a collection of studies on the impact of gender conventions on men and women's roles has been published by the Project on Women and Social Change of Smith College (Conventions of Gender, 1984). The collection is particularly useful because it addresses areas of study in which there is often not a great deal of material. Several of the papers, for example, study gender issues among Black men and women in the Southern United States during the 19th century

(Butler, 1984; Fox-Genovese, 1984; Horton, 1984). Two papers deal with male roles in the 19th century (Filene, 1984; Rotundo, 1984) while two others deal with the tension created by social conventions which oftentimes dictated a social role for women that was in conflict with the realities of women's lives (Chafe, 1984; Scharf, 1984). Barbara Melosh presents a most interesting paper on "The Iconography of Gender: Manhood and Womanhood in New Deal Murals and Theatre" (1984) in which she discusses the ideology of gender as portrayed through the art supported by the New Deal.

The debate regarding the relative influences of biology and environmental factors on the development of male traits has been discussed by several authors. The studies by Block (1973 & 1984) and Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) are basic because of the breadth of their work and their effort to be non-partisan in the debate. As a result, they are able to present a large body of evidence without prejudicing the student. On the issue of bias in psychological research, Pleck (1982) and Bernard (1976b) have both done studies which can be used to teach students to discriminate in their reading of scientific findings. Chafetz's (1974) survey's can be replicated in a modified form in college classrooms.

Hutt (1972) has a small but complete treatment of the biological basis of maleness which can be readily understood by the neophyte.

A concrete example of male socialization is provided by Mechling (1981) in his study of a Boy Scout summer camp in which he examines the influence of a social structure in teaching young males their gender roles. Fine (1981) presents a similar study of the role of Little League Baseball in the socialization of young boys and Goetz (1981) studies the process in an elementary school.

Writings in the area of sexuality and homosexuality often have relevance to our concept of "maleness" because homosexuality, commonly seen as an alternative from the accepted norms of maleness in American society, presents a non-traditional perspective on many issues. Gagnon and Simon (1973), study the relationship between social conventions which they call "scripting" and sexual behavior, pointing out that sexual behavior is not "natural" but always a response to social conventions. Brake (1976) in an article which takes homosexuality as its focus, discusses the conflicts created in men by the need to

live up to the expectations of maleness "ascribed" to them by society. Johnston (1979) discusses these same issues from a more philosophical perspective. All of these authors are questioning the imposition of gender norms on men, particularly, and whether there is any prescribed norm that can be seen as universal for all men.

Because the above mentioned books and articles are fairly theoretical, the instructor who is developing a course in this area will need to balance the material with personal studies undertaken by the students (Chafetz, 1974) or with exercises (Carney & McMahon, 1977) that illustrate for students the impact of gender conventions on their own behavior

Finally, Hoyenga and Hoyenga (1979) and Mackie (1983) have written textbooks for a study of gender differences which can be valuable resources.

Examples of Course Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III.)

Masculinity and Sex Roles

Men and Masculinity

Men's Studies - history and development

Men's studies is a relatively new field and this area of concentration functions as a means of introducing students to the basic concepts of men's studies and its relationship to other fields of study in the academic curriculum. This area of concentration has an historical component as well since men's studies grew out of an historical movement.

Objectives for "Men's Studies - history and development"

a. Be able to describe the historical evolution and current status of men's studies programs, including a discussion of the social forces (men's movement, women's movement, gay rights movement) which stimulated the development of men's studies

b. Be able to describe the two paradigms of masculinity which govern our current understanding of men's behavior; be able to

describe the relationship of the notion that knowledge is socially constructed to the evolution of these paradigms.

c. The relationship between men's studies and women's studies is both historical and philosophical. To attain this objective, students must be able to describe men's studies' relationship to women's studies and to the feminist movement.

Resources for "Men's Studies"

There is no single resource which traces the evolution of men's studies as an academic field of study. There are several unpublished articles (Bliss, 1980; Brod, 1983; Kimmel, 1984) which were written mainly for an academic audience to justify the existence of men's studies courses. Gurden and Hardman (undated) have published an account of a course which they taught in Coventry, England which discusses some of the philosophical issues that arise in planning men's studies courses. There is also The Men's Studies Newsletter (1984) published by the Men's Studies Task Group of the National Organization for Changing Men

(NOCM) which contains current information on the status of men's studies and research in the field. NOCM also publishes a semi-annual newsletter (Brother, 1983) which contains information about the field and Brod (1984b) has published a very short article on men's studies in this newsletter.

Although the notion of teaching about men was discussed in the mid-1970's (Lamm, 1974; Tomasson, 1972), there is no record of courses actually being taught until about 1975 ("What masculinity really means", 1975). Femiano (1984) has compiled a collection of syllabi in men's studies that are useful in illustrating the diversity of courses and the many approaches that can be taken to the subject.

The philosophy which underlies the evolution of men's studies can be found in the Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto (1974), in Men and Masculinity (Pleck and Sawyer, 1974) and in Unbecoming Men (1971). A brief history of the men's movement and its relevance to men's studies has been written by Gross, Smith and Wallston (1983). Shapiro and Shapiro (1979) have published an anthology which contains some historical background and Interrante (1982 & 1983) has done an

account of more recent events.

For a treatment of the sociology of knowledge, Berger and Luckman (1967), Kuhn (1962) and Langland and Gove (1981) are to be consulted.

There are also a number of resources in the field of women's studies which are useful to the instructor in planning a syllabus and in determining methodology. Langland and Gove (1981), Bowles and Duelli-Klein (1983b) and Spender (1981) have all published anthologies which discuss issues of philosophy and methodology as well as the political implications of teaching courses in men's studies.

Several bibliographic resources are available to the instructor as well. The Men's Studies Bibliography (1979) is an older resource which contains early material while Eugene August's (1985) recently published annotated bibliography has a more comprehensive and up-to-date listing of books. O'Neil and Muchow (1981) have a selected bibliography that includes articles.

There are also several newspaper articles (Mackay-

Smith, 1985; Miller, 1984b; Weisberg, 1984a & 1984b; Yoshihashi, 1984) which have appeared on men's studies. Meant for a mass audience, they provide an example of the media's perception of the field.

Examples of Course Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III)

Men's Studies (taught in a Women's Studies Program)

The Concept of Masculinity in Historical Perspective

The concept of masculinity has had varied manifestations throughout different historical periods. An understanding of this evolution is important for the student since many contemporary notions of masculinity are variations on historical themes. In this section of the curriculum, the historical variability and permanence of male traits are explored.

In exploring this theme, however, students must be made aware of the male bias in much historical work. Men have been the dominant protagonists throughout

history and their viewpoint on historical research and writing has strongly influenced our understanding.

This area of concentration, concerned with the development of the historical concept of masculinity, is seen as an introductory section of the curriculum because it illustrates the influence of society's needs and expectations on our definition of masculinity.

Objectives for "The Concept of Masculinity in Historical Perspective"

a. Be able to define the characteristics of masculinity which have been prominent in various historical periods; to trace the evolution of those characteristics; and to indicate which of them are manifested in contemporary theory about men.

b. Be able to discuss the reasons for considering certain masculine characteristics as constant in their appearance rather than being linked to certain historical periods.

c. Be able to trace the history of "feminist" men

through the 19th and early 20th centuries.

d. Be able to explain how history, its important events and its division into periods, has been defined by men from a male bias; be able to describe the notion of patriarchy as it refers to men's dominance of the social order throughout history.

e. Be able to discuss the influence of Christian thought in the evolution of the notion of maleness in Western civilization.

f. Be able to compare and contrast the influence of Christianity, Judaism and Eastern religious traditions on contemporary notions of maleness.

Resources for "The Concept of Masculinity in Historical Perspective"

Over the past fifteen years, writers have begun to look closely at the historical evolution of the notion of masculinity and resources are readily available. For the most part, historians have concentrated on particular periods of history, particular themes or

particular groups of people within history. Brenton (1966), Dubbert (1979), Filene (1974), and Rotundo (1983) for example, all write American social history of the 19th and early 20th centuries with an emphasis on changes in men's roles and conflicts men faced. Stearns (1979) examines the same period with a focus on the impact of industrialization on men's lives and roles whereas Pugh (1983) suggests a psychoanalytic interpretation of the development of masculinity in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Pleck & Pleck's anthology (1980) attempts to structure a number of historical writings to give a more coherent view of the role of men and the notion of masculinity in American society from the end of the 18th century to the present. Kriegel (1978) writes a philosophical and personal study which can be seen as a meditation on the history of the period.

Many authors investigating these notions have chosen to write about a particular theme that emerges as one looks at the history of the past two hundred years. Bakah (1971) looks at the evolution of the notion of adolescence while Banner (1983) traces the history of changing notions of male beauty. Fraser (1982) traces the relationship of the notion of

chivalry to violence, a theme which appears more frequently in psychological and sociological literature, while Gordon (1980) looks at 19th century marriage manuals and the expectations they placed on men. Kirshner (1981) chooses the comics, Spoto (1978) the movies and Melosh (1984) iconography as a way of tracing the evolution of masculinity. All of these themes contribute to a total picture of men and their self-image as it evolved throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Other authors have chosen to treat of particular groups of people as a way of defining notions of masculinity. Butler (1984) and Genovese (1980) look at Black men while D'Emilio (1983), Katz (1976), Oaks (1980) and Sprague, (1984 & 1983) explore the history of gay men. Hantover (1980) chooses the Boy Scouts as his focus and MacLeod (1983) looks at male institutions such as the Boy Scouts and the YMCA which were founded for boys with a view to instilling in them masculine virtues and ideals. Smith (1980) writes about the mountain men who, for many middle-class men of the 19th century represented an ideal of masculinity.

A thorough understanding of the concept of

masculinity must also include a knowledge of men who were exceptions to the mainstream of male thinking in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Histories of these men are just beginning to appear (Mosmiller, 1980; Strauss, 1982; Wagner, 1983-1984 & 1984) and provide a perspective on men's history that is important for a course in the concept of masculinity.

Resources for studying the influence of religion on notions of masculinity are more difficult to find since, with the exception of Bianchi and Ruether (1976), Ong (1981) and Schaef (1981), writers in the area of religion have not begun to investigate male bias as it affects religious thought. Since the above mentioned writers are not historians, their insights need to be integrated into an historical perspective. Classic works of religious thought from Western and Eastern traditions, can also be read and interpreted from the perspective of men's studies even though they were not written with that particular intent.

Because men with their particular male bias have dominated both the living and writing of history, any historical work is capable of being interpreted to show how concepts of masculinity have affected our

interpretation of historical events. An example of this type of enterprise can be found in A History of Masculinity, a course developed by Alan Kirshner (undated) in which he explores material about several historical periods and interprets it in the light of our current notions of masculinity. Aries (1962) and Kett (1977), both of whom were writing social history without specifically referring to notions of masculinity, can also be read and interpreted usefully from this perspective. Ferguson (1966) has written an interpretation of history with a focus on men's domination but his work is unique from this point of view.

A course in the history of the concept of masculinity also needs to discuss history as a discipline and the methodology it uses. Degler (1981) deals specifically with this issue as do several writers of women's history (Davis, 1975-1976; Kelly-Gadol, 1976; Lewis, 1981a).

Examples of Course Titles

(takes from survey data in Chapter III)

A History of Masculinity

Husbands and Wives: American Marriages since 1800

Technology USA Style: Masculine-Feminine Imbalances

SECTION II

Applications to the Social Sciences

The Psychological Foundations of the Notion of Masculinity

In this area of concentration, attention is given to the notion of masculinity as it has been developed and studied in the field of psychology. The term psychology is used broadly to include the various subsets of the discipline such as developmental psychology, social psychology, experimental psychology, etc. This section does not include a full consideration of male roles in society which is the subject of another area of concentration. It does include an examination of the notion of masculinity as it evolves through men's life cycles and it also includes a consideration of the practice of therapy with men as a practical implementation of psychological

theory.

Masculinity has traditionally been considered a personality trait with roots in individual psychology. This trait included characteristics such as aggressiveness, logical thinking, the ability to lead, the ability to manage the external world and heterosexuality. These characteristics were seen as uniform for all men and alterations from the norm were seen as pathological to some degree. As both men and women began to change their social roles over the past three decades, male psychological development has come under closer scrutiny. On the one hand, it became clear that all men did not live up to the stereotype of masculine development yet were still leading normal, well-adjusted lives. On the other hand, evidence was accumulating that the stereotypical traits which men were expected to acquire in the course of their psychological development were sometimes detrimental to healthy adult functioning. In this area of concentration, the traditional explanations of male psychological development are explored and the changes in understanding of this development that have taken place over the past two decades are examined.

Another area of study is the changes that take place in men's development as they move through the life cycle. Men manifest different psychological characteristics at different stages of their lives and these changes seem to be related in some degree to the aging process but are also influenced by men's socio-economic situation. An examination of this process is important for a full understanding of men's psychological development.

Finally, this area includes a section on therapy for men. As men's roles and self understanding have begun to change and as theory about men's psychological development has begun to revise some of its assumptions, the practice of therapy has evolved to take these new ideas into consideration. This development is explored in the curriculum.

Objectives for "Psychological Foundations of the Notion of Masculinity"

a. Given the differing perspectives of traditional psychological theories (Freudian, social learning and cognitive) about the psychosexual development of masculinity, be able to define

men's development from the point of view of each theory. Be able to discuss traditional theories in the light of the newly emerging paradigm of masculinity.

b. Be able to describe the evolution of our changed understanding of the masculine/feminine polarity from a dichotomous interaction of opposites through an androgenous relationship of differences to an attempt at overcoming gender polarization in conceptualizing relationships between men and women.

c. Be able to discuss a theory of male psychological development that takes into consideration contemporary thinking about the reciprocal influence of biology and environmental factors in the evolution of the male personality.

d. Be able to formulate definitions of both heterosexuality and homosexuality as normal developments of male sexuality.

e. Be able to describe the changes that take place

in men's behavior and self-understanding as they grow through the life cycle.

f. Be able to discuss therapeutic approaches to men that take into consideration the particularities of men's psychological development.

Resources for "The Psychological Foundations of the Notion of Masculinity"

There is a plethora of writing which sets out traditional theory about men's psychosexual development (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Freud, 1933 & 1962; Goodstein & Sargent, 1977; Maccoby, 1966; Rochlin, 1980; Ruitenbeek, 1966) but it is more difficult to find resources which critique that theory from the perspective of men's studies. August (1985), for example, in his recently published bibliography on men's studies, lists no writer except Pleck (1982) who discusses the impact of maleness on men's psychological development. For this reason, the instructor in this area will need to be somewhat innovative in applying newly emerging concepts about male psychological development to accepted theory. Tooley (1977), Menaker

(1975), Snodgrass (1983), Prescott (1975) and Taubman (1986) are useful in pointing out some directions for further exploration.

In response to the survey questionnaire on men's studies which I developed, I received several syllabi for courses on men's psychological development. Acker (cf. Appendix C), in the introduction to his course, described well the dilemma of instructors in this area and his solution.

> "The focus of this seminar is on an impossibly complex and not at all clearly defined area. Simply stated, the objective is to explore an approach or approaches to studying the dimensions of maleness by first attempting to understand, at least to some extent, what some of those dimensions may be. The concern is to enhance the possibility of becoming aware of the 'rules' which 'govern' the enterprise of being male; to move towards systematic study of those rules, their expressions and their implications for male function as a foundation or part of the necessary foundation for effective counseling" (unpaged).

He then uses a variety of resources from different disciplines as well as from popular writings as his resource material. His course provides a good example of bringing a particular perspective to bear on a multiplicity of resources, unifying them through the viewpoint from which they are studied. In this area of concentration, particularly, it is important for the

instructor to be able to understand the particular implications of maleness for men's psychology and, from that understanding, interpret or reinterpret other resources. As I have stated in an earlier section of this dissertation, perspective is the content of men's studies more so than is a defined subject area.

In this enterprise, Pleck's The Myth of Masculinity (1982) is useful for two reasons. He sets out a developmental theory about men that takes into consideration the effects of maleness and he examines a large number of research studies to determine how the male bias of psychological research influences the results of studies about men. Bernard (1976b) also investigates the impact of male bias on psychological research and her work, though less detailed, is a useful complement to Pleck's.

The instructor, in developing a theory of male psychological development, must include a consideration of men who belong to oppressed racial minorities since the dynamics of oppression have an effect on men's psychological development. Hannerz (1969a & 1969b), Jackson (1976), Staples (1971 & 1978) and Vontress (1971) are useful for understanding the situation of

Black men. There are few resources for men of other racial minorities. Because very little research has been done on the relationship between race, class and psychological development, there will be a temptation to pass over this topic. It needs to be addressed for a complete understanding of men's psychological development.

The study of men's psychology and male roles has paralleled the development of new psychological models for describing the relationship between men and women. The dichotomous relationship (Terman and Miles, 1936) that was once taken for granted has given way to the androgenous model (Chafetz, 1974; Heilbrun, 1973; Osofsky & Osofsky, 1972). More recently, models (Hefner, Rebecca and Oleshansky, 1975; Block, 1973; Pleck, 1975b) which supersede even androgeny have been proposed. An understanding of this evolution is important for the student of men's studies because it underscores the social process by which men develop their personality and behavior.

There are a number of writers who discuss particular aspects of men's psychology and, once a context and perspective have been established, their

work can be used to exemplify aspects of male functioning. Balswick (1981), Balswick and Peek (1971) and Jourard (1964) all deal with men's difficulties in being expressive and self-disclosing. Litewka (1977) and Bevson (1977) examine aspects of male sexuality that impact on men's functioning. O'Neil (1982) analyses the various areas of men's psychological functioning that are adversely affected by stereotypical male behavior.

Because the psychology of men is so broad a topic, most areas of men's functioning can be justified as part of a course on the subject. Generally, areas such a male sexuality, homophobia, work, sports, male aggressiveness and men in relationships are prominent topics. Instructors, however, will most likely choose according to their particular interest and that of their class.

The effect of the life cycle on men's development and the male mid-life crisis have been studied fairly extensively as well. As I noted in Chapter II, findings in the field are sometimes contradictory and the instructor needs to be aware of the various currents of thought. Levinson and his colleagues

(1978b) and Vaillant (1977) are two major resources on men's life cycles. Gould (1972 & 1978) and Neugarten (1975 & 1979) are also important although they do not focus only on men. The male mid-life crisis is well represented in popular writings (Filene, 1981; Mayer, 1978; Sheehy, 1974) and these are useful for introducing students to the concepts. For a more research oriented approach, however, Brim (1979), Osherson (1980) and Tamir (1982) are to be consulted as well as McGill (1980), Farrell and Rosenberg (1981) and Hogan (1981) all of whom include in their work the impact of socio-economic factors on men's development.

Therapy with men is an emerging field and resources are growing rapidly. The Personnel and Guidance Journal (1981) and Skovholt, Schauble and Davis (1980) are excellent resources because they gather together articles dealing with a large number of issues, including therapy for particular groups of men. Brownell (1981) and Schaef (1981), writing about the ways women have been treated in therapy, allude to a number of social considerations that must be taken into account in doing therapy with men. Vittitow (1977) and Marino (1979) deal with the affectional aspects of doing therapy with men while Clark (1972),

Kennedy (1977) and Beane (1981) deal with homophobia and therapy.

Doyle (1983) and Franklin (1984) have both written textbooks which provide an overview of men's psychological functioning and Lewis (1981) has compiled an anthology that can be used as a text. Pleck and Sawyer's Men and Masculinity (1974) is an older anthology but quite valuable in delineating the various areas of men's functioning that need to be examined. It has not been superseded by later books.

Carney and McMahon (1977) provide a book of exercises on male/female roles which can provide an excellent resource for the instructor in moving out of the realm of theory into a more experiential approach to the subject.

Examples of Course Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III)

Human Sexuality
Introduction to Psychology
Perspectives for Men

Psychology of Male Roles

The Psychology of Masculinity

Psychology of Men

Therapy With Men

Today's Changing Men

Understanding Men

Men's Changing Roles: Implications for Social Work

The Male Role in Society

The roles men play in society have remained essentially the same over the past two hundred years in our culture. Men are wage earners, spouses, fathers, soldiers, politicians, entrepreneurs and religious leaders. The context within which these roles are lived, however, has changed considerably since the beginning of the 19th century and dramatically since the end of the Second World War. Although men still function in many of their traditional roles, the manner in which they function and the expectations they and others have of their roles have evolved. In addition, men have found themselves sharing many of their roles with women and, in the case of white men, with men of other races. These changes have created conflict for many men as they have attempted to maintain their sense

of self-esteem and independence in the face of changing circumstances.

This area of concentration investigates the male socialization process and the many roles men play in our society. Socialization into the male role is not identical for men from different cultures or in different social classes and these differences need to be understood. The male role is also bound into the social structure through its relationship to power and the uses of power are also be a major concern of this section.

Objectives for "The Male Role in Society"

a. Be able to identify the elements that enter into the process of male socialization in the United States and give examples of roles men customarily play.

b. Be able to describe the role of various social institutions, e.g. the family, the media, schools, the workplace, in the socialization process. This requires that students be familiar with research concerning male

socialization and with the particular characteristics considered masculine in contemporary society.

c. Be able to describe how the process of socialization into the male role is affected by an individual's race, class or sexual preference.

d. Be able to define and discuss the male role as a social construct.

e. Be able to evaluate the impact of traditional male role functioning on men's psychological well-being. This requires that students be familiar with the notion of "role strain" and be able to relate it to the work men customarily perform.

f. Be able to define the relationship between men's roles and power in society and to explain the relationship between men's roles and the maintenance of traditional social and economic systems.

g. Be able to discuss the ways in which men's roles may be conceived differently by various economic theories, e.g. capitalism, marxism, socialism, etc.

h. Be able to explain how the male role, as traditionally conceived, is an oppressive reality for women and minorities.

Resources for "The Male Role in Society"

Considerable attention has been paid to the male sex role and it has been investigated in both scholarly and popular writings. Consequently, the instructor in this area has a wide variety of resources from which to choose. Grady, Brannon and Pleck (1979) have published a bibliography on the male sex role which, in conjunction with David and Brannon's (1976) synthesis of male roles, provides an excellent framework for developing a course. In the introductory section of any course in this area, the male role as social construct needs to be considered (Berger & Luckman, 1967; Kuhn, 1962).

The process of socialization, itself, has been

treated by Hartley (1959 & 1976), Knox and Kupferer (1971) and Pleck and Pleck (1980) who combine cultural, historical, and sociological points of view to trace the changes that have taken place in role expectations and the incongruencies that exist between the goals of the socialization process and the the needs and expectations of men in adult roles. Except for Pleck (1982), most studies do not address issues particular to Black men or men of other racial minorities. Butler (1984), Horton (1984), Wadinasi (1977) and Wallace (1979), however, do give some indications of the issues that must be faced by these men.

A number of authors have attempted to conceptualize the changes that are taking place in the male role and to place these changes within a psychological and sociological framework. Pleck (1982) has developed paradigms of the male role as traditionally conceived and as it is changing and Harrison (1978) has reviewed the literature on sex roles, placing the theories of development in an historical framework of changing paradigms. Block (1973) has developed a explanation of sex role development modeled after Loevinger's theory of ego development.

A major influence on the thinking about the changed male role has been the notion of androgeny which became prominent in the early 1970's. Androgeny was an attempt to deal with the traditional dichotomy between masculine and feminine roles by showing that men and women share many more qualities than was popularly thought. An understanding of androgeny is important for students and there are a large number of resources available. Kaplan and Bean (1976) and Sargent (1977) have both edited anthologies which provide a thorough understanding of androgeny. Bem (1976, 1977, 1975) has done considerable research on measuring androgeny and her instrument can also be a useful tool for classroom instruction. As the notion evolved, however, several authors (Hefner, Rebecca & Oleshansky, 1975; Garnets & Pleck, 1979; Pleck, 1975a & 1982) felt that androgeny, because of its acceptance of a masculine/feminine polarity, was still bound to the traditional paradigms and began to suggest alternative ways of conceptualizing the masculine/feminine reality and the male role. This evolution in thinking is still in process.

Since an understanding of the socialization

process is vital to this area of concentration, it is important for the instructor to be able to exemplify the theory by showing concrete examples of socialization into the male role. Fine (1981), Goetz (1981), Joffe (1971), Mechling (1981), Messner (1983) and Sabo (1980) all present examples of the socialization process of young children as it takes place in schools, in Boy Scout Camp or in sports. The role of the workplace in the socialization process has been less studied although feminist economists (Carlsson, 1976; Bernard, 1976a; Strober, 1976a) have written articles about women in the workplace that are pertinent to men as well. The ambiguities of the workplace which places strain on men (David & Brannon, 1979; Shapiro & Shapiro, 1979) while validating their masculinity (Brenton, 1966; Gould, 1974) has also been pointed out.

Homophobia is a major influence on many men as they attempt to understand and live the male role and it needs to be addressed in any course dealing with men's roles. Lehne (1976) does a thorough analysis of the roots and manifestations of homophobia and Kennedy (1977) discusses it among "liberated" men. Men's fear of intimacy with other men, an aspect of homophobia, is

discussed by Balswick (1981), Balswick & Peek, 1971) and O'Neil (1981a & 1982) while Clark (1972) deals with homophobia directly as an issue in male therapy groups. The Interracial Books for Children Bulletin (1983) devotes an entire number to the issue of homophobia in education.

The social order as presently constituted is a patriarchal system in which white, middle class men wield the power. The women's movement has noted this reality for a number of years and any study of the male role must take into consideration the function of power as a male prerogative. Friedman and Sarah (1982), Harding and Hintikka (1983), Hiller and Sheets (1976) and Shapiro and Shapiro (1979) have all published anthologies which deal with the sources and effects of male power. Pleck (1977) and Hantover (1981) look at it specifically from the perspective of male psychological needs. Shapiro and Shapiro (1979) and Snodgrass (unpublished) compare political ideologies and their relationship to power. Lipman-Blumen (1984) has written an incisive analysis of the relationship of the sex-gender system to power, contending that the "cultural (and hence mutable) aspects of this power relationship - that is, gender roles - provide the

blueprint for all other power relationships" (p. 5). Daly (1973) analyses the male use of power in her study of religion and its oppression of women. Since the question of male power can be studied from the perspective of a number of disciplines, e.g. history, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and economics, it provides an excellent opportunity for the instructor to integrate the student's learning experience.

Along with the question of the power structure in society is the question of the role of men who are not white or heterosexual. The socialization process for such men does not follow the same paths as that of white, middle class men but, unfortunately, except for some excellent work on gay men (D'Emilio, 1983; Katz, 1976) and a few writings on Black Men (Cazenave, 1981 & 1984; Staples, 1978; Wallace, 1979; Wilkinson, 1977), there are not many scholarly resources. The instructor, however, will find a goodly number of resources in the popular press to illustrate the uses of power to oppress racial minorities.

The price of power is another topic that has become prominent in terms of male role studies for, as interest in men has increased, it has become more and

more clear that men, as a group, have higher mortality rates and more physical and emotional distress than women. Goldberg (1976), Harrison (1978), Jourard (1964), Julty (1981-1982) and Meinecke (1981) all write about the issue and are a useful resource since they represent both popular and scholarly writings. Wadinasi (1977) has written an excellent article on the effects of the male role on Black men's health. Again, resources for this topics can be found in areas outside of men's literature (Friedman & Rosenman, 1974) since stress related diseases have become a common social concern.

In any study of men's roles, the bias of sociologists must also be considered since much of our knowledge about men's roles has been gathered and collated from a male perspective. Schwendinger & Schwendinger (1971), Oakley (1974) and Morgan (1981a) all deal with this issue and it needs to be dealt with in class as well.

Examples of Course Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III)

The Experience and Politics of Being Male in America

Male Awareness and Growth

Masculinity and Sex Roles

Masculinity in the Eighties: Crisis, Reaction and Growth

Men and Masculinity

Men and Masculinity: the Male Sex Role

Men and Sexism

Men and War

Men in Society

Men's Changing Roles: Implications for Social Work

Sex Roles

Social Factors in Male Personality

Sociology of Men and Masculinity

Sociology of the Male Experience

SECTION III

Selected Topic Areas

Oppressed Racial Minorities

Although the use of power has been studied in other areas of concentration, it seems important to study one particular effect of power, the oppression of

racial minorities. Men who belong to oppressed racial minorities undergo the process of socialization quite differently from other men. The issues they face are more complex. In this area of concentration, the meaning of maleness for such men is studied.

There is a particular difficulty faced by an instructor who wishes to develop a course in this area because resources are sparse. Such a lack, however, cannot function as a deterrent because an adequate understanding of maleness requires the insights of feminists and gay men as well as those of men in other oppressed groups. If their contribution is passed over on the grounds that it is difficult to obtain, the total picture will be lacking.

Objectives for "Oppressed Racial Minorities"

a. Be able to identify and explain the factors in the socialization process for men of oppressed racial groups that are different from those for middle class white men.

b. Be able to define notions of masculinity as understood by men of oppressed racial groups.

c. Be able to describe the differences in role expectations for such men within the family and in the workplace.

Resources for "Oppressed Minorities"

To understand how the socialization process of men who are oppressed racially is different from that of other men requires that the instructor spend a portion of the course on the way oppression, in general, affects men's psychological functioning and social relationships (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Hardiman, 1979; Jackson, 1976; Miller, 1984a). There are sociological studies about Black men (Cazenave, 1981 & 1979; David, 1968; Hannerz, 1969) and about the social structure of Black groups (McAdoo, 1981; Wilkinson, 1977) which are helpful in this regard. There is not, however, an extensive literature which deals with the particularities of being a black male in the same way that one finds studies on the psychological effects of being male for white men. Staples (1978 & 1982) explains some of the reasons for this lack and his work can provide a starting point for the instructor. Vontress (1971) has an article which is fairly

traditional in its approach but which, again, can provide a focus of discussion. Wallace (1979) has written about men from a feminist perspective and Ebony (1983) and Essence (1984) have devoted whole issues to Black men which give some sense of current popular thinking.

Studies about oppressed men who belong to other racial groups are even more difficult to find. Mirande (1979) discusses the Chicano family and Zavala (1983) discusses fathering for Hispanic men.

The instructor in this area needs to be innovative, using materials which deal with the social construction of gender, the historical evolution of maleness and the psychology of maleness, applying them to the experiences of Black, Latino, and Indian men as well as men of other racial minorities. It would be particularly important that instructors be aware of their own biases and perceptions about oppressed minorities.

Examples of Course Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III)

Black Men in America

Sex, Race and Age Discrimination

Men and Work

Work plays a major role in the lives of men because it is the principal social role assigned to them and is seen as their particular contribution to society's well being. The notion of work covers a wide range of activities from that of day laborer to businessman to trained professional. All of these types of work have elements in common when seen as "man's work" and this area of concentration investigates the implications of all types of work for men's lives.

Objectives of "Men and Work"

1. Be able to describe the relationship of work to the male role in general and the function of work in the development of men's self-image and sense of social status.

2. Be able to trace the changes that have taken

place in men's work in the history of the United States and to describe the conflicts caused for men as conditions of work changed.

3. Be able to describe the conflict caused between the demands of work and men's personal needs and family life. From a knowledge of the causes and effects of this conflict, be able to make recommendations for changing men's work roles to accommodate their other life roles.

4. Be able to define the relationship between men's work and the possession of power in society.

Resources for "Men and Work

The period since the end of the Second World War has been a particularly difficult one for men in relation to work. Although the industrial revolution of the previous century had already begun to change working conditions for them, it was not until the 1950's as society moved into a post-industrial era that the conflicts became critical. Stearns (1979) traces

the evolution of men's work from the 19th through the 20th century, with particular emphasis on the impact of changed working conditions on the male role. Filene's (1974) social history also looks at the same period from the perspective of gender roles. Turkel's (1972) study and Work in America (1973) are useful general resources even though their emphasis is not on maleness.

The relationship of work to men's self-esteem as well as the role strain caused by conflicting demands of work and family has been examined by David and Brannon (1976), Pleck and Sawyer (1974) and Komarovsky (1976). The relationship of work to male power has been looked at most closely by feminist writers (Barker & Allen, 1976; Blaxall & Reagan, 1976; Cater & Scott, 1975; Lipman-Blumen, 1984) whose major concern was the role of women and how men's power affects women. Shapiro and Shapiro's anthology (1979) also takes work as a major focus, looking at the power aspects of men's work as well as the role strain caused by work conflicts.

Since work and work aspirations are an experience common to most students, the instructor can make use of

the students own experiences and concerns in a class which deals with men and work.

Examples of Course Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III)

Corporate Wellness and Individual Advancement
Office Politics
Technology USA Style: Masculine-Feminine Imbalances

The Homosexual Tradition

Homosexuality is studied in other sections of this curriculum but merits a particular area of concentration for several reasons. Homosexuality confronts the relationship between sex and gender, a particularly confusing relationship for many contemporary men, in direct and often disconcerting ways. In addition, homosexuality is both a sexual and a political issue as it confronts the politics of male power in the personal arena of sexuality. Having been persecuted for many centuries, homosexuals have developed an understanding of male power and oppression

which is particularly relevant for contemporary society. Finally, a major obstacle in the way of many men who wish to change their behavior and self-image is homophobia, fear of closeness with members of their own sex. Homosexuality confronts this issue as well. Because homosexuality is closely related to several other central concerns of men's studies, it can provide a focus for a separate area of study.

Objectives for "The Homosexual Tradition"

a. Be able to trace the history of homosexuality in Western civilization.

b. Be able to discus the myths and prejudices about homosexuality which have prevented a dialogue between men of various sexual preferences.

b. Be able to define the meanings of homosexuality in other cultural traditions, both past and present.

c. Be able to explain in what way being homosexual is a political statement.

d. Be able to critique theories of male psychological development which do not allow for deviation from accepted sexual norms.

Resources for "The Homosexual Tradition"

The major issue to be confronted in a class dealing with homosexuality is the misinformation and bias that generally pervade discussions of the topic. The instructor, then, will have to choose materials which are capable of accomplishing both an educational and a consciousness-raising purpose.

A history of the homosexual tradition (D'Emilio, 1983; Katz, 1976; McWhirter & Mattison, 1984; Sprague 1983) is important to place other studies in context. The politics of homosexuality (Johnston, 1979) and the causes and effects of homophobia (Kennedy, 1977; Lehne, 1976; Bulletin of Interracial Books for Children, 1983) are also be an important focus. The cultural aspects of sexual variation as developed by Kessler and McKenna (1978) and Sprague (1984) as well as Brake's (1976) and Gagnon and Simon's (1973) studies of sexual behavior and sexual preference find a place because of their

strong awareness of the ways in which society structures the norms of sexual behavior to meet social needs. For approaches to homosexuality that reinterpret it in a context of psychological development, the instructor will find relevant and contemporary information in the Journal of Homosexuality (1984 & 1985). All of these resources can be used to develop an understanding of homosexuality that places it within a context of normalcy.

Men and Change

This area of concentration serves as an introduction to the societal changes that are taking place for men in the United States and the rest of the world as a result of the liberation movements of the 1960's. It is intended to be a more popular look at the contemporary situation in which men find themselves and analyse the ways in which men are changing. It should include a history of the men's movement, both national and international.

For many men, the changes taking place in family structure, work expectations, and personal

relationships are mystifying. These men are not necessarily opposed to change and may even welcome certain aspects of change, but they do not understand the historical processes which have brought it about and, very frequently, they find themselves faced with dilemmas they cannot resolve.

Change is constant in human experience and this area of concentration investigates the process, as well, to give students a sense of future directions for men.

Objectives of "Men and Change"

a. Be able to describe the historical processes which have led up to the changes in men's roles in today's society.

b. Be able to discuss the organizational attempts at change which have evolved during the past decade, including organizations on the right and left of the men's movement.

c. Be able to describe the ways in which men are changing in the workplace, the home and

personal relationships and present a critique of the advantages and disadvantages of these changes.

d. Be able to identify the social supports for men in process of changing e.g. therapy for men, consciousness raising groups, men's studies courses.

e. Be able to describe the lives of individual men through reading biography, poetry and other popular writings.

Resources for "Men and Change"

Instructors in this area of concentration should make use of motion pictures, popular writings (both fictional and non-fictional), popular songs and literature to provide students with a sense of the contrasts between contemporary images of the male role and images from the last several decades. These teaching tools can be supplemented with historical (Dubbert, 1979; Filene, 1974) and sociological works (Ehrenreich, 1983) that study the same time periods. Having thus established a common base of information

about men, the instructor can begin to develop theory about the sources and direction of change.

Anthologies of writings which have grown out of the men's movement (Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Lewis, 1981b) would be particularly useful in providing historical perspective as would the collection of essays entitled Unbecoming Men (1971). The men's movement has yet to be chronicled but aspects of its history can be found in Gross et al. (1983), Interrante (1982 & 1983) and Williamson (1985). Brannon (1981-1982) discusses the controversy between two factions in the men's movement. The popular press has begun to pay attention to the movement (MacKay, 1985; Miller, 1984b; Weisberg, 1984a; Yoshihashi, 1984) and both Ebony (1983) and Ms. (1984) have devoted special issues to men which present a well written popular point of view.

Poetry by and about men has begun to appear (Miller, 1983; Smyth, 1982) as well as books about men's personal experience of change (Bell, 1982; Diamond, 1983; Firestone, 1978; Gerzon, 1982; Rubin, 1980). All of these resources are written in a fashion that is makes them easily accessible to students. Men's need for support as they change is also beginning

to receive attention (Lewis, 1981; Marino, 1979)

This area would lend itself also to an experiential approach to teaching since the process of change is often best learned through experience. Carney and McMahon (1977) are a useful resource for this purpose.

Examples of Course Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III)

A History of Masculinity
Men's Changing Roles: Implications for Social Work
Today's Changing Man

Men and Maleness Portrayed in Literature

Literature courses are well represented in the syllabi reported in Chapter III and such courses have been some of the first to be developed in men's studies (Femiano, 1984). This has occurred because a vast amount can be learned about men by studying their portrayal in ancient and modern literature. Literature is generally more easily accessible to students; it

also provides a way of introducing them to historical, philosophical and sociological notions. This section outlines some suggestions for developing courses in this area.

Objectives of "Men and Maleness Portrayed in Literature"

a. Be able to define and describe the meaning of maleness through a study of its varied manifestations in literature.

b. Through a comparison of the literature of various eras and countries, be able to identify different conceptions of maleness.

c. Be able to critique a work of literature from the perspective of maleness.

Resources for "Men and Maleness in Literature"

Literary resources for courses in this area of concentration are readily available so that the initial task of the instructor is to explain the concept of

maleness and the ways in which reality is socially constructed. Once these concepts have been understood by the students, the exemplification of them through works of literature can be undertaken, using many of the classics of American and world literature. The goal of courses in this area is to understand literary works from a new perspective so that men can be better understood. Courses can be organized around particular themes, e.g. the ideal of the Victorian man or the entrepreneur or the writer or they can be historical, tracing the changing images of men through a particular period of time.

Instructors who are currently teaching in this area use a variety of resources from other fields but, as I mentioned in the literature review, there are few resources that are specifically literary in character. August (1982),Shaffert (1983) and Townsend (in press) have written useful articles. Pringle and Stericker (1980) have compiled an anthology of literary excerpts that can be used in a course and Heilbrun's (1973) study of androgeny uses a literary framework to exemplify its thesis. Friedman (1977) has published a bibliography on sex role stereotyping in the mass media which can also provide a useful resource for this area.

Instructors in the field of literature will generally have to improvise, drawing on knowledge of men's issues acquired through other disciplines and their insights into their own field.

Examples of Course Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III)

American Men's Lives
Modern Men: Images and Reality
The Emerging Male

Men's Health and Sexuality

This area of concentration studies both the physical and the psychological aspects of male health and sexuality. Because the demands of the male role have generally required men to ignore health issues, they are often unaware of the potential hazards to which they are subject through disease or life style. Sexuality, too, has been a taboo topic for men because many felt that an honest, open discussion of their sexuality would make them vulnerable and unmanly.

In this area of concentration, the physical aspects of being male are studied including common male illnesses as well as the various sexual dysfunctions from which men suffer. The effects of male socialization, particularly homophobia, on men's expression of their sexuality is also considered since many of the difficulties men have in forming relationships with women or with other men are rooted in sexual attitudes. Much male violence, as well, is bound up with expressions of sexuality.

Objectives for "Men's Health and Sexuality"

a. Be able to describe the basic physiology of men's bodies, including their sexual functioning.

b. Be able to list the health hazards to which men are prone as a result of traditional masculine life styles and to present suggestions for life style changes that are more healthy.

c. Be able to describe men's changing attitudes toward the expression of their sexuality and

the changing role of sexuality in their relationships with women.

e. Be able to identify the difficulties men encounter in forming close relationships with other men and to describe ways of helping men enter into relationships with other men more easily.

f. Be able to define the relationship between sexuality, pornography, violence and power.

Resources for "Men's Health and Sexuality"

The instructor in this area should be aware of men's reluctance to deal with their own sexuality. Classes, therefore, need to be organized in a way that makes men feel at ease, whether that mean limiting the size of the group or utilizing a lecture format initially or through some other means. At the same time, most men will experience relief as they discover the commonalities between their own experience and that of other men. As the semester progresses, it should be possible to investigate topics with less inhibition.

During the past decade, resources have appeared which treat both the physical and psychological aspects of men's sexuality in a comprehensive way (Castleman, 1980; Julty, 1979; Metcalf & Humphries, 1985; Zilbergeld, 1978). Attention has been given as well to the ways in which the expression of male sexuality is socialized in our society (Gagnon & Simon, 1973; Litewka, 1977; Unbecoming Men, 1971) and the health hazards that result from this process (Goldberg, 1976; Harrison, 1978; Jourard, 1964; Meinecke, 1981). The relationship between power and male sexuality (Friedman & Sarah, 1982; Novick, 1979) has been investigated and pornography has been studied because of its relationship to violence and other exploitive male behaviors (Brod, 1984a; Changing Men, 1985; Humphries, no date; Rowan, no date; Stoltenberg, 1984).

A particularly useful resource is books which can be styled health manuals for men (Julty, 1979; Silber, 1981). These are written and illustrated in a manner easily accessible to the student and can be used either as reference material or basic texts.

Examples of Courses Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III)

Corporate Wellness and Individual Advancement

Human Sexuality

Male Sexuality

Social Control of Male Sexuality

Men and Aggression

Aggression has generally been considered a male characteristic, attributable to men's biological constitution. The proof of this assertion has been found in the statistically higher incidence of men's involvement in aggressive behavior. As the process of male socialization came under closer scrutiny, however, the unquestioned acceptance of a causative relationship between biology and aggression also came under study. Men and women do have different biological constitutions in some respects but the manifestation of these differences in aggression and violence rather than in other kinds of behavior is no longer taken for granted. In this section of the curriculum, men's tendency toward aggressive behavior is investigated to determine the sources and parameters of this behavior.

Men's participation in aggressive activities such as war and sports are also be studied.

Objectives for "Men and Aggression"

a. Be able to identify the roots of men's aggression as it arises from the interplay of biology and socialization.

b. Be able to define the relationship between aggression and men's participation in crime, war, sports and other "male" activities.

Resources for "Men and Aggression"

Resources on male aggression can be found in two categories. On the one hand, there are research studies which have been done on the sources and manifestations of men's aggressive tendencies and, on the other, fiction, biography and other popular writings which portray men as aggressive. The research studies have taken as their focus the biological factors involved in aggression and the socialization process which supports men's aggressive behavior. Maccoby (1966) and Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) are the

most comprehensive overviews of this area. Blumenthal (1972), Edmunds (1980), Stockard and Johnson (1979), and Taubman (1986) also present research that aids in understanding the sources of men's aggressive behavior. Langevin's (1985) recent work is unique in presenting a comprehensive review of research correlating men's sexual preferences, gender identity and aggressive tendencies. Knowledge of this material is important as a framework for any syllabus on men and aggression.

Historical studies (Barker-Benfield, 1976; Fraser, 1982) of male aggression and violence and philosophical studies (Reynaud, 1981) can also be used. Hoch's (1979) attempt to link male aggressive tendencies to ideological systems, for example, would allow for a useful discussion of social theory.

Male aggression manifests itself in a variety of ways, whether through war (American Journal of Sociology, 1946; Broyles, 1984; Eisenhart, 1983; Shatan, 1977) competition (Fine, 1981; Gerzon, 1982; Messner, 1983-1984; Sabo, 1980; Townsend, 1977), domestic violence or child abuse (Beneke, 1982; Betzold, 1977; Butler, 1983; Pogrebin, 1974; Stoltenberg, 1981, Winter, 1977). Each of these topics

need to be discussed since each one manifests a particular aspect of male violence and helps to complete a full picture of the phenomenon.

A major goal of any course on male aggression and violence needs to be determine whether the sources are innate in men or whether they are socially induced. Recent literature has generally proposed that both factors are important and that men have a biological tendency toward more energetic activity which, in our society, is usually translated into aggression. The above resources take a balanced view of the subject.

Examples of Course Titles

(taken from survey data in Chapter III)

Men and Sexism
Men and War

Other Areas of Study

Respondents to the questionnaire, suggested approximately seventy fields of study (cf. Chapter III) as appropriate for development as courses in men's

studies. In developing the fields of concentration, I made use of most of those suggestions. However, a number of them were outside the realm of men's studies as currently practiced and as I am proposing. Still, I think it is important to note and comment on them.

Suggestions were made, for example, that there be men's studies courses in professional programs such as law, medicine and teaching as well as in the physical and biological sciences. These suggestions indicate the awareness on the part of the respondents that students engaged in those studies should be aware of the impact of maleness on their discipline. The professions of law and medicine as well as the so-called "hard" sciences are generally dominated by men and the bias that results from this domination needs to be elucidated so that it can be overcome. Teaching men's studies courses in professional schools would be one approach. A second, and more effective one, would be to revise the approach to knowledge of those disciplines to take into account the effects of maleness. Spender (1981), Langland and Gove (1981), Keller (1985) and Lipman-Blumen (1984) have all commented on male dominance in the generation of knowledge and the need to address this issue in the

academic disciplines.

Suggestions were also made that courses be taught in the humanities or in men's culture. Again, these suggestions indicate the need to investigate aspects of contemporary society from a new vantage point, maleness and its manifestations. Instructors in various disciplines such as art or music, using models from history and English, for example, could easily develop courses which take the role of men in their particular discipline as a focus. Over the past several years, a number of men have begun to write poetry and music which specifically addresses men's issues. They could be studied from the double perspective of being men and musicians or artists.

Approaches to Teaching

Although men's studies is a new field of study, it shares teaching approaches with established disciplines. Courses can be taught through lectures or seminars depending on the goals and objectives of the instructor and instructors can make use of case studies, statistical analyses and textual criticism in the same manner as instructors in other disciplines.

Since a goal of men's studies is to change student awareness of the impact of maleness on their lives and social relationships, however, instructors will also need to make use of techniques that engage students in more active ways. Instructors who sent in syllabi in response to the questionnaire had developed a number of methods to accomplish this end. Some required students to interview men as part of their class research. Most required students to keep a journal in which to record their personal observations and experience of maleness. Some instructors used experiential exercises to make students aware of their unwitting bias while others used slide shows or films to raise student consciousness. Two syllabi are reproduced in Appendix C which exemplify the organization of a course in men's studies and teaching techniques commonly used. The intent of these techniques is to give students an experience of what it means to be male as well as simply the knowledge.

The curriculum as developed in this chapter is intended as an organic entity that will change as men themselves change. Its goal is to elucidate an understanding of men that will serve as a plan for

further research as well as for present teaching. For it to be successful, it will change often.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusions

Men's studies is now acknowledged as a new field of academic inquiry. When I first undertook this dissertation, I felt that part of my task would be to defend the hypothesis that men's studies existed. I no longer feel that need for several reasons. Men's studies courses are being taught across the United States and Canada as well as in Europe. There is a national organization of men's studies scholars and academic journals have published special numbers on men's studies in their particular disciplines. The growing field of men's studies holds promise of deepening and extending our knowledge of men's psychological development. It also brings a perspective on social relationships and social functioning that can make our world a safer and more harmonious place in which to live.

Genesis of the Dissertation

As I began my investigation of the field of men's studies, I realized that information about the field

was sparse and that there was even some question about whether a field called men's studies existed. A number of people were teaching courses about men in disciplines like psychology, sociology, history and literature and some of these courses had been taught since the mid-1970's. What was lacking was a comprehensive look at the resources about men and a curriculum that was based not on individual interest but on the needs of the field itself. I decided to develop such a curriculum. At the time, I was thinking that I would end up with a number of courses that had a common philosophy linking them together. When I finished, I had developed something quite different.

My first task was to obtain an accurate picture of the field. The research piece of the dissertation took the form of a national survey of men's studies courses. It was carried out only on colleges and universities in the United States because, at the time I began, there were no courses being taught in Canada. Now, there are at least two courses at two different universities. There were a few courses being taught in European countries but I was unaware of them at the time and did not have a method of gathering information about them. Since my curriculum would envisage an American

audience, I felt comfortable in using only American schools as a sample.

The survey was undertaken to gather information about the number and type of courses but also to obtain a sense of instructors' goals and vision. I discovered that there were a fairly large number of people teaching or purported to be teaching men's studies and I ended up sending out 67 questionnaires to individuals whose names I had gathered. Forty-three responded in some way, either returning the questionnaire, sending a syllabus or sending other types of information.

An unexpected result of the survey was my collecting a selection of men's studies syllabi. I realized that they constituted a valuable resource for this burgeoning field and began to distribute them to people who wrote to me because they were developing courses or interested in doing research in the field. At the present time, I have distributed about 70 packets of syllabi to individuals in the United States, Canada, England and Germany. As a result of the survey and the communications I developed around the distribution of packets, I was able to monitor the field's continuing growth and the areas in which it was

developing. This information contributed to my thinking in the design of the curriculum.

The questionnaire was also designed to obtain information about the goals instructors had set for themselves and the vision they had of the field. In Chapter III of the dissertation, I break down the motivation of the instructors into four categories: personal, professional, social concerns and women's studies, as a way of separating out the various reasons leading people to enter the field. In a sense, all of the reasons given had personal roots because professional and social concerns had grown out of personal conviction and oftentimes were the fruit of personal growth. In this respect, men's studies, like women's studies, is a field in which the personal is political.

The Literature Search

In Chapter II of the dissertation, I report on the results of an extensive literature search and point out the contribution of the various social sciences to our new understanding of men. In the literature review, my interest is principally on research writings

whereas in Chapter V, the curriculum section, I also include writings illustrating applications of this research to aspects of men's lives. In other words, I use the literature review to set out research and theory about men's development and behavior and I envisage the curriculum as a tool for teaching about that research and theory. Because the literature review and the curriculum are the major contributions of the dissertation, the bibliography is extensive.

Choosing books and articles to include in the dissertation presented some difficulties. There was no standard bibliography on men nor did the category men even appear as a listing in some library catalogs. I began my search using books and articles I had found in doing research for my comprehensive papers and for an independent study on men's lives. I also used the newsletter of the men's studies task group of the National Organization for Changing Men which listed resources for research on men as one of its regular features. I worked from these sources to expand my bibliography. My original intention was to review books and articles that had been written since 1965 because that was the time when the new perspectives on gender began to appear in writings. Before long, I

realized that I needed to include certain authors who wrote before the period I had established as a cut off because their insights were still pertinent to our contemporary understanding of men.

Finally, I developed a set of criteria for selecting books and articles to include in the study. I would use only those which dealt with issues of gender, male development, the process of male socialization and sex roles. For example, I decided in the early stages of my work that I would not include a section on fathering even though that seemed an area of general interest and one in which there were a large number of resources. Most of the writings on fathering, however, did not take gender as a focus but rather discussed the ways in which men's fathering role is changing and pointed out directions for future change. Some of these writings were still using assumptions based on the traditional paradigm of masculinity. I also used books which dealt with gender and sex roles for women because their insights had important implications for men's studies as well. In the area of curriculum, itself, I was confined to general books on curriculum and books on women's studies curriculum because there are as yet no writings

about curriculum in men's studies.

Design of the Curriculum

When I first conceived of the notion of doing a curriculum and was beginning to collect syllabi, it was my thought that I would create a number of courses in men's studies that, taken together, would constitute a comprehensive approach to the field. As my work developed, however, I realized that such an approach would not be adequate. On the one hand, the field is growing and developing and the curriculum would have to be flexible enough to allow new and diverse courses to be added. On the other hand, much of the interest in the field has come from instructors in particular disciplines who wish to teach men's studies within their own disciplines. They need guidelines for integrating men's studies into their programs but do not need curriculum guidelines for their own disciplines.

I finally decided that I would develop what I have called areas of concentration. I conceived of these as broad areas of study which may or may not correspond to the boundaries of a particular discipline. In the case

of history, for example, the area of concentration is more or less coterminous with history as a discipline. The area of concentration called The Male Role in Society, however, uses the resources of a number of disciplines. Even the area called the Psychological Foundations of the Notion of Masculinity goes beyond the confines of psychology. The areas of concentration, then, are intended as guidelines for the development of courses whose focus is to be determined by the particular needs of instructors and students.

I organized the areas of concentration into three sections. The first section contains the basic concepts of the field, including an historical overview. In the second section, I applied these notions to the social sciences. The two areas of concentration in this section are quite extensive. The third section contains much briefer descriptions of areas of concentration because they are intended as examples of particular topic areas that can be more fully developed. A number of different topics could have been selected for this section. The ones included in the dissertation were chosen because they were the areas most frequently suggested in the responses to the questionnaire.

I feel that much of the vigor in the field of men's studies has come from the initiative of instructors who developed new courses based upon their own insights into the relevance of men's studies to their disciplines. My intention in developing the curriculum is to provide such instructors with a resource through which they can easily access research on male development, men's roles and the history of the notion of masculinity since much of the research about men is scattered through a variety of disciplines and difficult to find.

Men Studies as an Academic Discipline

In Chapter IV, I discuss the use of the term discipline to refer to the field of men's studies. I would like to return briefly to this discussion. In Chapter IV, I commented that I did not think men's studies could be called a discipline at this stage of its development because the paradigm of masculinity on which it is based is not yet fully articulated nor does it have a sufficiently large body of adherents (Kuhn, 1962). Several other considerations, however, need to be taken into account as we continue to consider this

question.

In terms of the production of knowledge itself, I would suggest that, if we consider knowledge as a process, a way of perceiving reality rather than simply as a content, a product of intellectual functioning, then perspectives which are sufficiently diverse in the principles from which they proceed can be considered as creating separate bodies of knowledge, thereby laying the foundation for separate disciplines. From this viewpoint, men's studies with its particular perspective can be seen as a new discipline or, at the least, a sub-set of the new discipline, gender studies. In comments made at the end of a conference exploring the role of women in the workplace, Kenneth Boulding suggested that a new discipline dealing with the nature of gender is emerging, albeit with a still undefined form.

> We are, perhaps, today assisting at the birth of a new science, or at least a new interdiscipline. I am not quite sure what to call it. We can't call it sexology because that is something else. I thought of calling it dimorphics, because it is the study of sexual dimorphism in the total social system and the study of the fact the the human race is dimorphic....The present state of dimorphics can be considered primitive in the extreme. Cross-cultural studies very much need to be done. Then we must get into sociology and law,

> and the study of institutions, economics and all of the social sciences (Boulding, 1976, p. 75).

Myra Strober (1976b), in her closing comments at the same conference, echoed Boulding's thoughts.

> The paradigm of dimorphics has not yet been clearly articulated and perhaps until it is we should follow Adam Smith's precedent and call our new subject an inquiry. Yet, in several other respects dimorphics clearly meets the test of a new science. For example, the questions being addressed by dimorphics are sufficiently intriguing to "attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific activity" (Kuhn, 1962, p. 10) so that an invisible college of dimorphists is now emerging (Strober, 1976b, p. 294)

As the above cited remarks indicate, a new body of knowledge is emerging but, as yet, there is no consensus about a name for the field nor is there clarity about its boundaries. Dimorphics was suggested by Boulding and Strober; others have suggested gender studies (Brod, 1983). Men's studies and women's studies are both aspects of the same inquiry and other ways of naming the field.

At the Annual Meeting of the Task Group for Men's Studies in June 1985, discussion took place about this question by people teaching and doing research in men's studies. No consensus emerged on the question of whether or not men's studies could be called a

discipline. There was a general feeling, however, that, given men's historical propensity to dominate women, the practical issues of developing the relationship of men's studies to women's studies should take precedence, at this time, over the more theoretical issue of defining men's studies itself as a discipline. Once a working reciprocal relationship with women's studies is established, a definition of the field can be formulated along with women's studies scholars.

From a practical point of view, the issue of the relationship of disciplines to departments must also be considered. In speaking of men's studies as an academic discipline, implied is the assumption that it would also be a department or the equivalent of a department. Disciplines are not necessarily the equivalents of departments and departmental status often has more to do with university politics and finances than it does with the theoretical questions of whether or not a particular field of inquiry is, in fact, an academic discipline.

Given the above considerations, it seems there are two levels on which the debate will continue, the

philosophical one of educational theory and the practical one of university politics. At this point in its development, the field of men's studies consists of individual courses taught within particular departments. It seems that the next logical step, from a practical point of view, would be to develop programs in men's studies that would be capable of offering a sequence of courses that are the equivalent of a major and having these recognized much as women's studies are currently recognized in many universities. Further development would depend on many factors, including openness of university faculty as well as theoretical advances in the field.

As our research continues, however, I think the uniqueness of men's studies will be recognized and it will be granted the title of discipline or sub-discipline. I see the work of this dissertation as a contribution to this research.

The Impact of Men's Studies on the University Curriculum

As men's studies grows and develops, it will have an impact on the university curriculum in several ways.

Its particular perspective on maleness will bring a new and deeper understanding to other subjects in the curriculum. Its emergence will stimulate the university to grow and change as cultural contexts change. Finally, it will provide an opportunity for instructors from a variety of disciplines to work together to integrate their insights and research.

Practitioners of men's studies have been deeply aware of the newness of their work and its implications for restructuring the academic curriculum. For the most part, however, they have worked within the boundaries of the social sciences. Courses are taught in sociology, psychology, literature, religion and women's studies, to name a few. While it is understandable that men's studies should have its roots in the social sciences since these subjects are most readily identified with social change, its scope must expand. The outlook of the physical sciences, for example, also suffers from a male bias in its assumptions about the universe. As men's studies grows, it will be important to extend its field of inquiry into such fields.

Another area which needs to be developed is that

of philosophy. Women studies scholars are aware of its importance and Harding and Hintikka (1983), for example, have edited an anthology in which the contributors "identify how distinctively masculine perspectives on masculine experience have shaped the most fundamental and most formal aspects of systematic thought in philosophy and in the social and natural sciences - the aspects of thought supposedly most gender-neutral" (p. 10). With few exceptions, men in these fields have yet to begin such an investigation.

Men's studies, as currently practiced, is a field populated by white, middle class males. Such a phenomenon is not surprising since white, middle class men predominate in academic settings in the United States and other Western countries. Such a predominance of a single group, however, can create difficulties as one seeks to develop a field of study that is universal in its understanding of men and in its ability to engage a wide range of adherents. This lack also needs to be remedied as the field grows.

Finally, men's studies offers an opportunity for integrating the university curriculum in new ways. Many men's studies courses are taught using the

perspective and material of several disciplines. Such courses are usually seen as interdisciplinary and I have commented on them in Chapter IV. Men's studies, however, also offers the possibility of transdisciplinary courses, "the highest level of integrated study... [requiring] professors and students [to] know not only the techniques of problem solving but also where to search among the disciplines for contributions. Thus teachers need to be resource persons, broadly acquainted with many fields or thoroughly grounded in knowledge theory" (Meeth, 1978, p. 10). Such an approach to learning not only enhances students' ability to understand but also gives them a way of viewing reality that will serve them in political and social life as well. In a sense, they are not only learning about the world but about the process of learning itself (Berger and Luckman, 1967).

Changes in our understanding of gender paradigms that have made men's studies possible are also important for society in general. Many of our social rituals and much of our social structure are posited on a dichotomous understanding of the relationships between men and women. This understanding is reflective of western thought, in general, which is

most comfortable with a dualistic approach to understanding the universe and human beings. Men's studies is one way to begin to change this perception of reality and to make possible more fruitful relationships between men, women and children. The change will be slow because old habits of thought do not easily give way, even in the face of anomalous situations (Kuhn, 1962).

Directions for Future Research

When I undertook this dissertation, I recognized that I was embarking on a voyage into hitherto unexplored territory and I saw my work as introductory, an attempt to map out a field for further exploration. There are several areas which I see as needing further research.

At the theoretical level, the question of whether men's studies can be called an academic discipline needs to be further pursued for its implications in the field of epistemology. The production of knowledge in our society, as in all societies, is guided by paradigms which determine not only the ways in which we proceed but also the questions we ask. Much of the

work done in men's studies to date has been concerned with the male role, its evolution and the ways in which it is currently changing. With few exceptions, men's studies scholars have not begun to look at the more fundamental questions of male bias in the production of knowledge itself. The work of women's studies scholars such as Harding and Hintikka (1983) and Spender (1981) needs to be emulated by men's studies scholars.

The question of the meaning of "academic discipline" also needs to be further pursued. Over the past hundred years, university studies have flourished with a proliferation of disciplines and sub-disciplines. Many of these developments have come about through the combination of disciplines as it became clear that the study of certain aspects of our world required the perspective of more than one disciplines. Men's studies, as women studies before it, confronts this same issue in an even more direct way. Is the perspective of men's studies simply another way of viewing reality from within the confines of a single disciplines or does it, indeed, supersede these disciplines by bringing them together under a higher light? While I have suggested that the second option seems justified, much research needs to be done

before we can make any definitive statements in this regard. Once again, we are dealing with the philosophy of knowledge.

The psychology of men is another area in need of further research. My original inspiration for this dissertation came from my desire to better understand men's psychological development. In the process of constructing the curriculum, I discovered that much of the current psychological theory about men will need to be reevaluated as a new paradigm of masculinity takes shape in our culture. This work has barely begun but is extremely important if we are to fully understand male development and apply this understanding to therapeutic work with men.

At the practical level, the question of the relationship of sexist bias to the further development of men's studies needs to be examined. To what extent does the fact that men whose positions of power are threatened by the tenets of much men's studies research have an impact on the development of men's studies in colleges and universities. Women's studies found itself working on behalf of an oppressed minority as it struggled to vindicate itself as an accepted and

respected field of study. Men's studies is in the peculiar position of representing a dominant class struggling with the effects of its dominance. The struggle is very different and, in some respects, more difficult.

The relation of teaching method to content of courses also needs to be further scrutinized. Men's studies has generally followed traditional teaching patterns in that it has been done in the context of a single discipline or in an interdisciplinary way. The method of teaching a subject, however, has important implications because it provides the context within which the subject will be understood. If men's studies is indeed a perspective, a way of viewing the content of other disciplines, then the method of teaching it should reflect this process orientation. This question also needs to be carefully studied as the field grows.

Men's Studies and Psychology

Throughout this dissertation I have adverted to the relationship between men's studies and psychology. My original inspiration came from a need to pursue a psychological inquiry into men's behavior and

attitudes. As I conclude, I realize, that in many respects, a men's studies curriculum must have as its theoretical base a strong psychological component since men's behaviors, as studied through the viewpoints of other disciplines, are outgrowths of men's psychological development. Without a well grounded understanding of psychology, the curriculum will not have a center. For this reason, I see much of the work of this dissertation as an attempt to apply current advances in psychological thinking to the practical task of teaching.

Men's Studies and Women's Studies

Throughout this dissertation, I have referred to women's studies and women's studies scholars but I have kept a fairly narrow focus on men's studies itself. I think that the field of women's studies has made important contributions to men's studies in several ways. Their existence has, in some instances, provided men with an incentive to create programs for themselves. In other instances, women, both as members of departments and as individual scholars, have been supportive of men who were endeavoring to create a new field. Finally, much of the pioneering work in areas

of methodology and theory has been done by women who were thinking about these issues when men were just beginning to organize courses.

As men's studies grows and takes on an identifiable form, the question of its continued relationship to women's studies is being raised. One solution that has been proposed is to merge the two fields under the single rubric, gender studies. I feel that it is too early in the history of either field for them to consider a merger in this way. Theoretically, it would seem a logical progression in the evolution of both fields but there are many practical considerations that militate against the choice. There is still not sufficient trust between the two groups to allow for a true union. In addition, both groups are still in the process of forming an identity and, as in marriage in general, the union is more successful if the partners are already mature adults. Finally, the academic community has yet to accept notions of gender as important factors in the way knowledge is generated. Having both men's and women's studies gives a greater tactical advantage in overcoming this prejudice.

The National Task Group on Men's Studies

An important milestone in the history of men's studies has been the formation of a national group whose focus is the dissemination of information about men's studies and the sharing of resources. The task group is a committee of the National Organization for Changing Men (NOCM) and currently numbers about 100 members, both men and women. It publishes a semi-annual newsletter and annually sponsors workshops and seminars on men's studies as part of NOCM's annual conference.

If men's studies is to grow, this network of men and women doing research and providing mutual support will be increasingly important.

Final Remarks

The experience of writing this dissertation has been an enriching experience for me in many ways. Through it, I have come to know a large group of dedicated and committed men and women who are working to bring their insights before a wider audience. Their work has supported and encouraged me in many ways. In addition, I have realized that the sexism and classism

which pervade our society have roots in the very way in which we conceive of reality. To bring about social change requires a process of reconceptualization that is difficult and long. I feel men's studies can make an important contribution to that process.

This dissertation grew out of my interest in men's psychology and, in a very important way, has influenced my therapeutic work with men. The paradigms for treatment which have been formulated over the past several decades do not take into consideration the effect of maleness on men's attitudes and behavior. As a result, diagnosis of men's emotional conditions is done without regard for a major factor which influences all of their functioning. As I have begun to see men though the lens of their maleness, I have also been able to see more clearly, in many instances, the causes of their plights and the reasons they find it so difficult to make changes. If we are to be successful in treating men, I think it is essential that the insights of men's studies be incorporated into our psychological thinking.

The emergence of men's studies came about through the work of many individuals, men and women, who felt a

need for these new insights to be integrated into our common store of knowledge. Its continued growth will also depend on a common effort of dedicated individuals working together. It is my hope that this dissertation will be a contribution to furthering that work.

APPENDIX A

Men's Studies Survey Questionnaire

NAME: PHONE:

ADDRESS:

INSTITUTION IN WHICH YOU TEACH:

ADDRESS: PHONE:

1. Name of course: (current and past) Undergr. or Grad. Dates Taught

   a.

   b.

   c.

   d.

2. Department or program in which course(s) was taught:

3. What considerations led you to choose to teach this particular course(s):

4. Would you please enclose with this questionnaire any descriptive information, brochures or bibliography connected with your course(s) that would be helpful to me in designing curriculum.

5. If you were to propose a curriculum for a men's studies program, what would be your goals for such a curriculum?

6. What courses or fields of study would you consider central to such a curriculum?

7. Would you please list the name and college/ university of anyone not included on the attached list who is also teaching a men's studies course.

8. May I list your name and teaching affiliation in my dissertation? Yes: No:

9. May I cite the materials you share and/or reproduce them in my dissertation? Yes: No:

10. Are you willing to share your curriculum/syllabus with others through the Men's Studies Task Group? Yes: No:

11. Are you interested in receiving a packet of the materials on Men's Studies? Yes: No:

APPENDIX B

Responses to Question 3

Resp. 1: Raise consciousness about sexism and control patterns among men.

Foster an awareness of race and class differences among men.

Stimulate a dialogue between men and women about power, sexuality, mutual expectations, past experiences, etc.

Resp. 2: To develop sound theoretical approaches to research issues, based in feminist theory.

To interpret the relationship between masculinity and social systems.

To raise awareness of masculinity as a mechanism of social control.

Resp. 3: To examine and discuss how male gender socialization influences men - both theoretically (in the literature) and experientially (student

experiences).

To study the implications of male dominance and the oppression of women for men personally, culturally and institutionally.

To identify options for expanding male attitudes, beliefs and behaviors and for acting to change the social, political environment that perpetuates rigid gender roles and oppressive systems.

Resp. 4: Outreach to older males (over 30, especially 40-60), these are the worst off.

Teach about the hazards of being male.

Develop a positive action-based platform to confront and deal with the "Dilemmas of Masculinity", i.e. do something about the problems.

Resp. 5: To understand ideologies and inequality in American society.

Resp. 6: To encourage male involvement in nurturance.

To identify health hazards of males.

To promote good mental health among males.

To raise awareness of class vis-a-vis male sex roles.

Resp. 7: Before men can contemplate changes in their sex role, they must hear and study what women are saying.

Hence Goal 1: a basic introduction to feminist theory for men. Change must be personal and political and to do this, it is necessary to understand how different groups in society are oppressed by race, class and sex. Men are not oppressed as a sex!

Hence Goal 2: An understanding of how (some) men are oppressed by race and class and how women are oppressed by sex, (particularly in marriage and the family).

Goal 3: An understanding of the dynamics of homophobia and male sexuality, particularly in relation to men and violence.

Resp. 8: Develop an awareness that we are responsible for our own individual actions in our relationships with others.

Dispel the feminist myth that men are bad people and that we are responsible for the plight of women.

Foster an awareness that men are not

oppressing anyone - that everyone is playing their role in those relationships where oppression is perceived. Breadwinning is as oppressive as homemaking.

Stress the reality that we, both men and women, live much better lives than the majority of the world's population. It is only because of the high quality of our lifestyles as breadwinners and homemakers that we enjoy the luxuries of time and energy which enable us to reflect upon our"condition".

Resp. 9: Study what we know about causes of male behavior.

Raise levels of consciousness about men's issues.

Resp.10: Stimulate research and continuing study.

Encourage other professionals and human service organizations to develop new programs (services for men).

Provide opportunities of personal growth for men.

Increase knowledge (awareness) of men's issues among general public.

Resp.11: My belief that this area is what people (especially men) need to be educated in in order to help create more human social relationships and avoid the pains involved in the posturing roles.

Resp.12: Develop greater awareness of sex role conditioning.

Scientific approach to sex role conditioning.

Resp.13: To have students understand the categories of analysis that apply to men, and to have them understand the interrelationships between the genders.

Resp.14: To examine the philosophies underlying meanings of "masculinity."

To examine the functional and dysfunctional aspects of the various meanings of masculinity.

To analyze and evaluate the role of the male in modern society.

To pursue reasons why thousands of males are self-destructive as well as destructive to others (both males and females).

To explore the antipathy white males feel

toward black males and black males toward white males.

To discover alternative ways of thinking, feeling and behaving which may facilitate better social psychological functioning for males.

Resp.15: An interdisciplinary approach to men's gender-related history, issues and concerns.

A heightened awareness (or consciousness raising) about men's lives, history, and future.

A fresh way of seeing men as males, as human beings shaped by biological, social and personal forces.

The fostering of a certain militancy about men's issues.

The questioning of the treatment of men in modern society and the search for better ways of living fuller lives.

A rejection of stereotypical views of males (the all-powerful leaders,the oppressors of women, the "cool" hero, etc.) a celebration of the positive qualities of masculinity and being male.

Resp.16: Advance research, teaching and writing on men.

Have courses at beginning middle and advanced

levels.

Work with other departments, e.g. Women's Studies, Psychology, Sociology, etc.

Resp.17: Develop diversity of masculinities, historically and cross-culturally.

Expose male bias in traditional curriculum and its negative effects on men and women.

Expose students to men's movement options for social change.

Integrate men's and women's studies.

Resp.18: To have men better understand their own lives, the lives of other men, and women's lives.

Resp.19: Gender issues, to educate men, women, children, professionals and psychologists re: myths, real needs, sexuality, children, alternative style, NEW directions, History - I would separate the issue of power and men. We cannot continue to equate men to power.

Resp.20: Balanced interdisciplinary work: history/social science/humanities (literary criticism, philosophy). I think the field is

dominated by social psychology of sex roles and has not been taken as seriously as it might be.

Resp.21: In short, confrontation, support and education. That is, confrontation on the interlocking forms and structures of traditional masculinity to raise consciousness of the effect of this role on men, women and children;

To provide support for those men seeking to change this role and resurrect out of the traditional what is positive, creating at that time more positive images and roles for men today.

Finally, provision of information about the men who have rebelled against the traditional role in the past and present, the forms that rebellion takes, alongside increased awareness of what choices there really are, what work there is to be done, and what role models need to be created.

Resp.22: I believe there is a need for men and women to become aware of some of the issues involved for men of sex role liberation, and we are obviously at a very early stage in learning all that will be required to carry that out.

Resp.23: My general goals for a men's studies program would be:

(1) that the course content be interdisciplinary: a study of men and masculinity should be firmly rooted in history, anthropology, political economy, psychology, and should utilize biography and fiction.

(2) that the structure and process of the program should be "non-traditional" -- structured in cooperative and democratic ways;

(3) although it is important to stress the "costs of traditional masculinity" to men, I believe that it is dangerous to simply emphasize this point -- the program should be rooted in an understanding and critical analysis of power and privilege which is often associated with traditional masculinity;

(4): the curriculum should be organized in such a way that it has appeal to (and shows respect for) diverse groups of men along lines of sexual preference, ethnicity, social class, and age.

Resp.24: To introduce students to various theories, academic and activist, of masculine identity/ behavior.

To present alternative views to ones taught in

conventional departments, e.g. the history of common men, not warriors.

To call on the techniques of a variety of disciplines to provide a wholistic paradigm of men and masculinity.

To empower men to act upon the hidden injuries of their gender identity.

Resp.25: I would want them (students) to question conventional wisdom, in this case, to question their gender identity, to see how it has been shaped before they assumed it and what alternatives were conceivably open to them.

Resp.26:* Value transformation in men (and women).

Healthy life style.

*A number of respondents to the questionnaire did not answer this question. Therefore the number of responses in this appendix does not correspond to the total number of respondents.

APPENDIX C

Selected Syllabi in Men's Studies

This Appendix contains two examples of men's studies syllabi selected from those submitted in response to the survey questionnaire.

* * * * *

SYLLABUS I

The Psychology of Men
Fall 1983

Martin Acker
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

COURSE OUTLINE

In search of a point of departure.

The focus of this seminar is on an impossibly complex and not at all clearly defined area. Simply stated, the objective is to explore an approach or approaches to studying the dimensions of maleness, by first attempting to understand, at least to some extent, what some of those dimensions may be. The concern is to enhance the possibility of becoming aware of the "rules" which "govern" the enterprise of being male; to move towards systematic study of those rules, their expressions and their implications for male function as a foundation or part of the necessary

foundation for effective counseling.

Many approaches are possible. I have chosen to present a limited number, not as the inclusive array, but more for purposes of getting our endeavor started. Clearly what follows is neither inclusive nor definitive.

1. In contemplating the study of men one might begin by raising any number of questions about the concept of maleness, the parameters of the concept, etc. Following are some such questions.

   A. What is a man?

   B. Are there constellations of characteristics, qualities, attitudes, behaviors, etc. that create categories of male?

   C. How do the differences occur that make up the different categories?

   D. Is maleness (are males) different now than it has been in (any) previous time?

E. What are the differences, generally, in specific categories?

F. What is the developmental process from infant to boy baby, to boy child, to boy, to man?

G. Are there different developmental processes for different "categories"?

H. If there are differences, what factors are associated with such differences, what are the "causes" of the differences?

I. If there are differences in the developmental process and patterns, are they different now from other previous times?

J. What are the relationships between "formal" rules of maleness and ideation, perceptions, and behaviors of men?

K. Are there critical stages in the development of maleness of individual males?

L. What are the consequences of inappropriate

experiences of developmental stages for the development of maleness?

M. Are changes in the perception of maleness possible during the post developmental stage in the life of men?

N. What are some major "aberrations" from "normal" maleness?

O. Is the definition of "aberration" of maleness constant over time and place?

P. What evidence is there that biology/anatomy is destiny for men?

Q. Is male bonding, considered by some to be the major foundation for human society, essentially a method for protection of men from each other?

R. How are maleness and violence related to each other?

Etc., etc., etc.

2. Many factors of various types and qualities are seen by varieties of observers, "researchers," commentators, etc., of maleness, as being of critical importance in influencing male perceptions, goals, motivation and direction. In other words, there are many explanations offered to explain how men are, why they are as they are, why they alter their perceptions and behaviors as individuals, as a class. It is not clear that any "explanation" is more powerful in its clarity than any other or in its validity than any other, and it is likely that each offered has some element of validity as explanation. They are, however, useful in the effort to develop points of departures, frames of reference, observation organizing mechanisms.

Offered below are some of the extant "theories" of current faces impacting on contemporary maleness.

A. <u>The demise of the "breadwinner ethic."</u> A change in the acceptance by men of the responsibility for the support of spouses

(partners) and offspring, a change to non-acceptance of such responsibility as a matter not open to question. For whatever reasons of the change, it results in men seeing their roles differently, accepting relationships from a different than traditional stance.

B. The "Feminist Movement". The increasing rejection by many women of the limitations imposed by traditional, oppressive roles necessitates a change in men's perceptions of their roles and responsibilities. Also, the women's movement legitimizes increased focus on self and serves to provide permission for men to engage in self-exploration and role change exploration.

C. Economic/industrial changes in our society. Changes in the nature of production, movement towards an "information" economy from an industrial economy results in substantial changes in the nature of work, the demands of work. This change diminishes the need for traditional "man's" work forcing a change by men in their perceptions of themselves as

workers and thus as men.

D. The threat of nuclear holocaust. The real possibility for the destruction of the human race through nuclear war forces the necessity for seeking substantial changes in value orientation with a subsequent necessity to examine traditional social/political organization of society. This necessitates also the critical reconsideration of traditional roles. There are also the feelings of guilt (explicit or implicit) by men for the state of the world.

E. The discovery of "stress." Increasing evidence of the toxic effect of the demands on men of the traditional male work, social and personal roles makes a reevaluation of those roles imperative. This phenomenon strongly suggesting (at least) that power is a rather dubious benefit.

3. Another possible point of departure in the study of men is the study of men in various important relationships. One might engage in

various forms of observations of men in relationships to elicit or infer the values, the goals, the objectives, the fears, the satisfactions of men in and from such relationships. Following is a listing of many of the major relationships in which men engage.

A. Boys as sons of fathers; of mothers.

B. Boys with each other: 1. as siblings.
2. as playmates.
3. as competitors (school, play, etc.)

C. Boys with adult men: 1. uncles.
2. grandfathers.
3. parents' friends.
4. teachers.
5. leaders (scouting, etc.)

D. Men as intimate partners: 1. emotional.
2. sexual

E. Men with men: 1. colleagues.
2. rivals.

3. employers.

4. subordinates.

F. Men as fathers: 1. of male children.

2. of female children.

G. Men as step (or surrogate) fathers.

H. Men with "society" at large ("them").

4. Male behavior across relationships may be another arena for study:

A. Men and aggression/violence.

B. Men and sexuality.

C. Men and fear.

D. Men and affection and tenderness.

E. Men and expression of commitment.

F. Men and esthetic expression.

G. Men and danger.

5. Yet another approach is the examination of men through the study of prominent men in our

society. What images, ideas, feelings, concerns, aspirations, fears, etc. are conjured up by the images in newspapers, on television, on the movie screen, or mention in print or on radio of the following, for example:

A. Woody Allen
B. Pope John
C. Martin Luther King
D. Ronald Reagan
E. Liberace
F. Henry Kissinger
G. Jerry Falwell
H. Frank Sinatra

These are some of the men who, for whatever reasons, are prominent in contemporary society, held in high esteem by many and seen as villains by many. What do they project, as qualities of men, that is associated with the state of their regard?

DISCUSSION PREPARATION GUIDE

(A discussion preparation guide is provided for each section of the course. The following guide is given as an example.)

The study of psychology of men is the study of goals, values, perceptions, motivation, ideas, fantasies and behaviors of men in a variety of contexts and relationships. Sexuality is clearly one of the most significant contexts and thus, the study of men's relationship to and interaction with sexuality is a critical basis for illuminating male psychology. In subsequent weeks, we will examine such contexts and relationships as: parenthood and parenting; male friendships; intimate sexual relationships; experiencing and expressing affect, etc.

Following is a guide to observation of men's functioning in the context of sexuality. In preparing for the discussion, use the guide as an outline for "research" and reflection and to organize the notes you will bring with you to facilitate your involvement in the discussion.

SEXUALITY

1. Goals.

   a. What are the goals of sexual involvement for men in general; for men at different developmental stages; various social statuses, different ethnic groups; etc.

   b. Consider a hierarchy of goals from the socially, formally approved to the least approved. Consider the hierarchy of disapproved goals or expectations from sexuality activity.

   c. What are the goals of sexual activity of men as evidenced by behavior of men, drawing on literature, personal observations and experience, news media, etc.

   d. What are the consequences of non-involvement for men; at various developmental stages; different social stages; different ethnic groups, etc.

2. Rules

a. What are the formal, publicly enunciated rules about sexual behavior; rules about appropriateness of time, place, participants, affect, etc. What is the hierarchy of such rules.

b. What are the rules as evidenced by the behavior of men (again drawing on personal experience, literature, observation, news media, etc.)

c. What are the differences in rules (formal and real) for: different development stages; various social statuses; ethnic groups, etc.

d. What are the formal sanctions for rule violations, for various rules and for different groups.

e. What are the real sanctions for rule violations as evidenced by experience, media reports, literature, folklore, etc.

3. Perception of Women

   a. What are the formal, socially approved perceptions of women's sexuality, by men.

   b. What are the perceptions of women's sexuality by men as evidenced by the behavior of men (again, personal observations, personal experience, media reports, literature, etc.)

4. Consequences

   a. What are some of the important consequences for men, in their perceptions of themselves and the conduct of their lives, of the formal rules, goals, sanctions, etc. pertaining to sexuality.

Guide for consideration of relationship among men:

The purpose of this guide is to provide a suggested structure for your "analysis" of the phenomenon of male relationships. The analysis will be based on your observation of your reading, such research data as may be extant and available and, of course, your own experiences as a man and/or in relationships with men. Remember this guide is intended to serve as a stimulus and a possible point of departure, not as a constraint.

We may conceptualize relationships (in this case relationships between and among men) as falling into a number of categories or classes. These categories are not offered as "pure" types or as being mutually exclusive.

Suggested categories:

1. consanguinous: relationship by virtue of blood ties, family lineage, thus not entered into by the individual, voluntarily.

2. affiliative: relationships established by decision, by choice with others with whom the association, per se, is desired.

3. instrumental: relationships which, in a way, are incidental, the association being for the accomplishment of some goal or objective, with persons being oriented to the goal not the association, as the major orientation.

4. non-voluntary instrumental: relationship established for an objective determined by a threatening condition or situation beyond the perceived power of an individual to control or reverse (therapeutic relationship of patient to therapist).

Label relationships that seem to fit in each of the categories, realizing that some may fit several. For each of the categories, and for representative relationships in each of the categories, consider:

a. What functions are served by the relationship and the type or class of relationship.

b. What are the rules of behavior.

c. What are sanctions for "misbehavior".

d. What are the dangers for participants in the relationships.

e. What are the various kinds of rewards for involvement.

f. How are participants influenced to perceive themselves.

g. How are participants influenced to perceive other men; what are the presumed characteristics of other men.

h. What is the impact of the existence of "femaleness" on the relationship.

i. What is the impact on the relationship on interactions with "femaleness" and on relationships with individual women.

Please do not limit your reflections, observations, speculations, etc. to the above. Expand, modify to enhance and enrich your work and our discussions.

SYLLABUS II

The Psychology of Masculinity
Department of Psychology
Psychology: 34.2

Robert Brannon
Brooklyn College

Text: The 49% Majority: The Male Sex Role. D. David and Robert Brannon, (Eds.), Addison-Wesley, 1976.

There will also be additional assigned readings, to be purchased in Xeroxed form at one of the campus copy-centers.

ORDER OF CLASSROOM TOPICS

1. What is masculinity? Some definitions:

   stereotypes, norms, roles, sex roles, sex typing.

2. Global variations in roles of masculinity.

3. The male sex role in the United States today.

   A 4-dimensional model of mainstream masculinity.

   Positive and negative elements of masculinity.

   Some cultural variations within the U.S.

4. Male sex role socialization.

5. Male role transitions in adulthood.

6. Homophobia and the male sex role.

7. Sex roles and the Social System.

8. Masculinity and interpersonal relationships: with other men; with women; with children.
9. Masculinity and the Gender Identity Paradigm.
10. Men and the Family-Breadwinner Ethic.
11. Masculinity and interpersonal functioning.
12. Physical and physiological issues.
13. Masculinity and anti-social behavior.

There are three course requirements: (1). A mid-term exam.

(2). A non-cumulative final exam, equal in weight to the mid-term.

(3). A Term Project.

Your project may be of two types: graded or ungraded. (Details of both types of projects are given on a separate sheet.) If you choose a graded project, it will count for 1/3 of your term grade and each of the exams for 1/3. If you choose to do an ungraded project, your term grade will be based on the two exams weighted equally.

In addition to the above considerations, classroom

attendance and participation will be given some weight in deciding final grades, especially in those instances where other factors indicates an average midway between two letter grades.

TERM PAPER TOPICS

If you elect to write a term paper, it will count for 1/3 of your term grade in Psych. 34.2. Papers MUST BE TYPED, and are due the final week of class.

The topic of your paper may be any of the subjects listed below. (In order to write on any other topic, you must receive the permission of the teacher in advance.) There is no suggested or required page-length for the paper. It is your responsibility to do the necessary research to find information on the topic you select.

Single fathers
Masculinity and watching sports
Men and job satisfaction
Masculinity in China
High School masculinity
Wife-battering
Masculinity in Africa
Jewish men and masculinity
Men and Unemployment
Black men and masculinity
Men whose bosses are women
Hispanic men and masculinity
Male socialization: learning to be a man
The psychology of rape

Husbands and housework

Men and competitiveness

Homophobia and men

Masculinity and the U.S. presidency

Physique and male behavior

Behavior toward women in small groups

Masculinity in the U.S. in historical perspective

Masculinity among American Indians

Masculinity in the business world

Italian men and masculinity

The 4-Part Model of Masculinity, as illustrated in Movies (or T-V shows)

INTERVIEW

If you prefer not to write a graded research paper, you may satisfy the term project requirement by conducting and reporting on an interview with your father or another man 40 years or older in your family. The interview report MUST BE TYPED and is due the final week of class.

The final report should have three sections:

Part 1: Your father's answers to the interview questions. On a separate sheet, a "Suggested Interview Outline" for this project is outlined. You may use the Interview Outline that is provided, modify it if you wish or make up a totally different interview. In any case, you should have a written list of the questions you intend to ask ready before you conduct the interview.

Try to conduct the interview when you and your father can be alone to talk; it is not good to have other people listening in. Try also to find a time

when he will not be rushed and impatient to get it done in the shortest possible time.

Ask the questions one by one, and write down in a notebook exactly what he says in response. You probably will not get it exactly word-for-word, but keep it as close to his actual words as you can. Some students have asked about using a tape-recorder. This is usually NOT a good idea since it almost always makes the person being interviewed very NERVOUS. It's much better to just write down what he says as nearly as you can, even if you miss some of it.

When the interview is over, you should thank him for helping you and, if you want to, have a short discussion of anything raised by the interview that he wants to talk about. Then, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, you should go back over the notes you took, and add anything else that you remember to what was said.

Part 1 of the final report <u>should be written in your father's voice, not yours.</u> In other words, it should be like him talking, not you. For example, "I am 52 years old...", <u>NOT</u> "My father is 52 years old."

Part 2: Some general discussion by you of your fathers feelings about masculinity.

This can be short - probably about one typed page or a little less could be sufficient. Looking back over all the answers your father gave, try to make some general statements about how he feels about masculinity, what aspects of it he thinks are important, and how he thinks it applies to him. You might make some reference to Brannon's 4-Part Theory about Masculinity, it it seems applicable to the interview.

Part 3: Your own personal reactions to the interview.

This could be as short as one page or so, or longer if you wish. Talk about your own reactions to what you learned from your father. You might, for example, want to talk about how his attitudes are similar to your own and how they are different.

You may wish to keep the original typed copy and turn in a clear Xerox copy. The term paper that is turned in will not be returned to you.

SUGGESTED INTERVIEW OUTLINE

Where were you born? Who were the other members of your family? How old are you now?

When you were a boy, what famous man, or men, that you knew personally, had the greatest influence on your ideas of what a man should be like?

Name a few men that you think of as "Very Masculine" and say a little about why you think so.

What is your job now or how do you earn your living? What others jobs have you had before.

What do you like most about your present job? What do you dislike? Considering you natural personality and abilities, what career would you most have wanted.

Some men complain that a "full-time-job" takes up too much of a man's life and doesn't leave enough time for everything else. How do you feel about that?

I'm going to read a few statement that some men have made. All I want you to do is to say whatever you think about the statement, anything you want to say. OK?

It is not important for a man to make a good salary, as long as he enjoys his work.

A man who is not a good provider for his family probably isn't too much of a man in other ways either.

I think a man should choose an interesting job, even if the pay is very bad.

It's much more important in life for a man to be liked than for him to be financially successful.

A man should try to never let other interests or personal needs interfere with his work.

It's essential for a man to always have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows him.

I admire a man who can come up with some answer to just about any question.

A man should always follow the news and have something to say about politics and international events.

In an emergency, a man should be able to take charge.

A man must be able to stand on his own feet and never depend on other people to help him do things.

A man should never back down in the face of trouble.

It disgusts me when a man comes across as weak.

A man should always try to project an air of confidence, even if he doesn't really feel confident inside.

A man must never let anyone push him around, no matter who they are.

A man should always think everything out coolly and logically and have rational reasons for everything he does.

I like for a man to look somewhat tough.

Now, here are a few questions about you when you were a teenager.

Back when you were about 16 or 17, do you think that someone who had just met you would describe you as:

impressive
tough
sweet or nice
masculine

(Try to get more than just a yes or no...)

Now, here are a few more statement that have been made by other men and I'd like to get your reactions to them:

Having wild adventures and doing exciting things brings our the glamor and manliness in a man.

A real man enjoys a little bit of danger now and then.

A man should always refuse to get into a fight, even if there seems to be no way to avoid it.

I prefer a man who wants to live a normal, happy life and doesn't have too much desire for wild thrills or adventures.

Fists are sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.

Timid and cautious men are a lot more annoying than the aggressive ones.

It bothers me when a man does something that I consider "feminine".

When a man is feeling a little pain, he should try not to let it show very much.

I would NOT object if a young son of mine wanted a doll.

Nobody respects a man very much who frequently talks about his worries, fears and problems.

Unless he was really desperate, I would probably advise a man to keep looking rather than accept a job as a secretary.

If a man has complicated financial problems on his mind, he shouldn't burden his family with it unless there is something they can do to help.

I think it's extremely good for a boy to be taught to cook, sew, clean the house and take care of younger children.

A man should sometimes make an effort to keep it to himself if he's feeling a little down, since nobody likes a complainer.

Those are all the questions that I have. Is there anything else you'd like to say about what you think about masculinity or about your own experience in growing up as a man?

LETTER FROM INSTRUCTOR TO ACCOMPANY INTERVIEW

Dear Sir,

The student who has given you this letter is taking a college course about "Men and Masculinity". I have asked each of the students in the course to spend a little time talking with their father, or with another adult man in their family. The purpose is to find out how an adult man feels about his experience of growing up as a man and how he thinks a man should handle things.

I hope that you will be willing to help the student by taking a few minutes to answer some simple questions. It will not take too long and I think you will probably find it fun. You will also be helping this student a great deal. Thank you very much.

Very

Sincerely,

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